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NOTICE TO READERS: * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

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Parliamentary Representatives on Relations With NATO

AU0612123990 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 3 Dec 90 p 3

[Interview with Laszlo Kovacs, member of the Hungarian Socialist Party, by Andras Desi; place and date not given: "The Leaders of the NATO Parliament Are Expecting an Invitation to Budapest—Alajos Dornbach and Laszlo Kovacs on Hungary's Associate Member Status"—first three paragraphs are NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[Text] "At the 36th meeting of the North Atlantic Assembly in London, Hungary was granted associate member status," Alajos Dornbach, deputy speaker of the Hungarian Parliament, and leader of the Hungarian delegation in London, told NEPSZABADSAG.

The North Atlantic Assembly is made up of parliamentary representatives from the 16 NATO member states. According to the new decision made in London, Hungary, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and the Soviet Union will be able to take part in Assembly meetings as of now; they will be able to submit proposals, but they will not have the right to vote. According to Alajos Dornbach, who is a representative of the Alliance of Free Democrats, the associate member status of Hungary has once again brought our country one step further on the road to European integration.

At the meeting, great attention was given to European security, and to our future prospects. The delegates unanimously agreed that the security of our continent rests on the Helsinki agreements, on NATO, and on the North Atlantic Assembly. The dangers threatening Europe were also mentioned. The economic collapse of Eastern and Central Europe—and particularly of the Soviet Union—could constitute a peril that would have unforeseeable consequences for all of Europe. Ethnic and national minority tensions in Eastern and Central Europe are a potential source of danger, as is the enormous emigration wave induced by economic problems and ethnic conflicts. The number of refugees could even total a million, and Hungary could become a final destination country, rather than a transit country. According to Alajos Dornbach, the pan-European settlement of the refugee question is also of paramount importance to Hungary. We interviewed Laszlo Kovacs, member of the Hungarian delegation in London, on these issues.

[Desi] When were relations between Hungary and the North Atlantic Assembly initiated?

[Kovacs] The leaders of the Hungarian Parliament and of the NATO Parliament began corresponding in 1986, and until November 1989 Hungary was the only Warsaw Pact country to maintain proper official relations with the North Atlantic Assembly.

[Desi] Following these preliminary procedures, was there complete unanimity about granting associate member status to Hungary, as well as to the other four previous Warsaw Pact member states?

[Kovacs] The decision was gradually reached during the meeting. The first proposal only foresaw our right of participation, and it was the plenary session that accepted this final formulation. Basing itself on the dangers inherent in the economic and social problems of the Warsaw Pact states, the new North Atlantic Assembly decision calls upon NATO governments to encourage Warsaw Pact member states to develop their relations with NATO; it also asks NATO governments to assist the reform process taking place in Eastern and Central Europe. A separate Assembly decision deals with the financial assistance that could be offered to our region, for example, in the form of favorable credits, or a further shortening of the COCOM list.

[Desi] For the near future, what can we hope for in our relations with the North Atlantic Assembly?

[Kovacs] Next year, our parliamentary delegates are to discuss military budgets in Brussels. The leaders of the Assembly signalled that they would also welcome an invitation to Budapest. Within the framework of a Budapest meeting, the delegates would discuss the legislative measures that have to be taken as a consequence of the CSCE agreements reached in Vienna. It was also mentioned that Hungary could perhaps host one of the North Atlantic Assembly meetings in 1992.

Zhelev Proposes Dimitur Popov for Prime Minister

AU0712103890 Sofia BTA in English 1023 GMT 7 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, 7 Dec (BTA)—President of the Republic Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev has just proposed to the parliament the candidature of Judge Dimitur Iliev Popov (63) for the post of prime minister.

Ganev Explains Refusal To Form New Government

AU0612214790 Sofia BTA in English 2053 GMT 6 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, 6 Dec (BTA)—"It is difficult to give a hard-and-fast answer in politics," Mr. Ginyo Ganev, deputy chairman of the Grand National Assembly, told the BTA in answer to the question whether he is adamant in his refusal to head the new government.

"I cannot take the responsibility to direct the radical social and economic reform. This should be done by qualified economists," said the 62-year old lawyer.

Asked what he would do if President Zhelyu Zhelev asked him to form the new government, Mr. Ganev said: "I don't think President Zhelev would do that without the consent of any candidate for the job."

Petur Beron Resigns as SDS Leader Amid Scandal

Promises To 'Explain Everything'

AU0612174290 Sofia BTA in English 1644 GMT 6 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, 6 Dec (BTA)—Today in the afternoon, Mr. Petur Beron submitted his resignation as leader of the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] parliamentary faction. It was accepted.

"I thought it would be better that way," Mr. Beron told the BTA. "There is no need washing dirty linen in public," he added when asked whether he has been pressured by his SDS colleagues.

Mr. Beron is to deliver a formal statement today or tomorrow in which he "will explain everything" connected with the sensational allegations that he collaborated with the secret police.

Mr. Doncho Ivanov, vice president of the Podkrepa Labour Confederation, said today in the SDS Coordinating Council that Podkrepa does not have files and lists of secret police informers. If Dr. Trenchev, president of Podkrepa, who accused Mr. Beron, has any such files, they must be in his own possession. But Podkrepa does not deal with such things, Podkrepa's vice president pointed out at the meeting.

The SDS expected Podkrepa to deliver the documents on Mr. Beron's case by noon today but they were not received. The only explanation came from Mr. Doncho Ivanov.

Mr. Beron is a gullible person and his opponents took advantage of that, a SDS MP said in a lobby interview today. Other SDS members have also signed declarations on collaboration with the secret police. We warned our colleagues to take care. But Mr. Beron didn't tell us about it, said the MP.

At the Coordinating Council meeting Mr. Beron admitted collaboration with the secret police but said his reports never harmed any of his colleagues. Mr. Beron signed a declaration on collaboration in 1968 and kept delivering his reports till October 1989. At that time the CSCE meeting on the protection of the environment took place in Sofia, Mr. Beron was already a dissident and one of the Ecoglasnost activists.

Opposition MP's Trust Beron's Statements

AU0612194090 Sofia BTA in English 1909 GMT 6 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, December 6 (BTA)—"It is sheer nonsense to talk that Petur Beron informed the political police on the Ecoglasnost dissidents. Our activity was entirely open, there was nothing secret about us even before November 10, 1989," Mr. Petur Slabakov, the Ecoglasnost leader, told the BTA.

"Beron is a childlike and gullible person. He could have hardly imagined that he was doing anything immoral," another opposition MP believes. Circles in the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] assume that the secret police probably took advantage of Mr. Beron's patriotism to recruit him. Almost none of the people who know well the former SDS leader admit the possibility of Mr. Beron having harmed anybody by working for the secret police. They are rather inclined to trust Mr. Petur Beron's statements on Tuesday and Wednesday.

A Green Party MP, who demanded Mr. Beron's resignation some time ago, emphasized that his motion was motivated by Mr. Beron's shortcomings as an organizer. Another member of the SDS leadership said, referring to Mr. Beron: "He is a person who can't even organise himself."

According to a rumour going round parliament's lobbies today, sensational disclosures will be made imminently about secret police connections of eminent politicians. Everybody is waiting for next Tuesday when the commission of inquiry into the files will finally see the MPs' police records. Sources who spoke on conditions of anonymity allege that members of the commission come under strong pressure. The sources assert that MP's for the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] and for the SDS may try to prevent the identification of the secret police agents.

The troubles and thrills arising from the Beron affair and the possible new scandals are also seen as inevitable ramifications of the collapse of the totalitarian system in which people characteristically live a double life.

Trenchev Considers Affair Closed

AU0612214490 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 6 Dec 90

[Text] Konstantin Trenchev, the leader of Podkrepa, had a meeting today with the striking students of the Higher Medical Instute in Stara Zagora. Most of the questions he was asked concerned the Petur Beron affair. Konstantin Trenchev expressed his views on the case in the following manner, and I quote:

I consider the case closed. This should be the only [word indistinct] step for many people. I want to tell these people that everything that I do is for the future of this country, and not to derive some kind of benefits, because at the moment the nation's fate is staked on a card, and if we make a new Bulgaria, which I want to happen, we must make it a country for decent people.

I do not want the step we took in bringing the fact to light to be interpreted as a witch hunt. People who might be persecuted because they had links with the secret services are also working in our organization, but they were honest enough to admit that they did have links in the past. I see nothing bad in a person making a clean break with his past to make a fresh start in the future. In this sense, I would also recommend that other people who worked with these services do the same.

Mr. Trenchev said: The accusations that I am waging a personal war are without foundation. I want to state, with full responsibility, that I am not obtained any personal benefit. I had the information available only a few hours before publicizing it. We did not make any calculations, and have covered up nothing. No one specially selected the moment to announce the fact, nor was there any special motive in making this disclosure. I simply heard the news, and reacted very tempestuously, because I cannot react in any other way. This is not a matter of personalities, it is a matter of the truth and an idea. I do not know the reasons for this fact not being made public by Mr. Beron himself, for the case to be closed. I would have insisted on it being done in this way, because it is a fact that should have been brought out into the open not by me, because, as far as I know, DUMA made a similar threat earlier.

Dr. Trenchev stated that he did not obtain the information from secret channels and services, but did not conceal the possibility that it was possible to obtain the information by this method as well.

Konstantin Trenchev also stated that the information did not come from Communist Party circles.

Trenchev on Own Security Contacts

AU0612215190 Sofia BTA in English 2115 GMT 6 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, 6 Dec (BTA)—Dr. Konstantin Trenchev, the leader of the Podkrepa Labour Confederation, today explained that he brought to light the information incriminating Mr. Petur Beron as State Security informer on moral grounds that because Mr. Beron, who resigned today as chairman of the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) was a candidate for the prime ministership.

"Podkrepa is not indifferent to the person before whom it will stand up for its trade union demands in future," Dr. Trenchev told a news conference.

He said he had delivered the discrediting documents to "an institution of unquestionable authority," obviously referring to the office of the president of the Republic.

Dr. Trenchev was asked whether he had signed a declaration on collaboration with State Security in his school or university years. A copy of such a document is circulating in Sofia. Dr. Trenchev replied that there is some document on his contacts with State Security officers many years ago in connection with the attempt of a youngster to sell him narcotics.

"Since then, all my contacts with State Security have been in my capacity as an interrogated remand prisoner," Dr. Trenchev said.

In 1989 he was held in custody at the Criminal Investigation Department for four months in connection with the establishment of Podkrepa.

The BTA learnt that a popular Sofia daily may soon publish a major article incriminating Mr. Trenchev as a secret police operative.

Speaking at the same news conference, Mr. Emil Lalov, Podkrepa's legal adviser, admitted that he worked for ten years at the now disbanded State Security Department Six.

Different sources who spoke on conditions of anonymity said in separate interviews in the lobbies of parliament today that Dr. Konstantin Trenchev, together with former senior officers and top people in the secret police, "is now trying to pull the wires of political life."

The same sources allege that Dr. Trenchev was recruited by State Security while he was in custody.

Press Views Background to Resignation

AU0712085890 Sofia BTA in English 0809 GMT 7 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, 7 Dec (BTA)—Today the dailies write of the tense political atmosphere in this country, stressing that the name of the new prime minister is to become known today.

The scandal around Mr. Beron's alleged collaboration with the secret services is blowing up and taking in new areas and persons. This prompts the question of "OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK" whether Bulgaria will be once again governed by the State Security. The daily draws the conclusion that the shadow of the police is once again rising over Bulgarian politics.

Active informers of the former Department 6 of the State Security are directly to blame for the current acute confrontation in the Bulgarian society, an officer of the secret services, who wished to remain anonymous, believes. He points out in the "DUMA" daily that the ex-informers are destabilizing the political process, availing themselves of their leading positions within the UDF [Union of Democratic Forces—SDS] and in the mass media.

In an interview for "DEMOKRATSIYA," the daily of the Union of Democratic Forces, Mr. Petur Beron says that he neither feels guilty of, nor discredited by, the disclosures made of his links with the secret services.

"SVOBODEN NAROD," the publication of the Social Democratic Party, observes that today "political stars fall with a speed faster than that of the changes." As regards Petur Beron, the opinion of the daily is that "his star fell quickly and unexpectedly because politics does not tolerate even unproved discrepancy."

Yordanov Only Nominee for Post

AU0612170390 Sofia BTA in English 1604 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 6 Dec (BTA)—Mr. Aleksandur Yordanov, the Radical Democratic Party spokesman, is the only candidate for the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] leadership, Mr. Filip Dimitrov, deputy chairman of the SDS Coordinating Council, said on national radio today.

He added that at its meeting today the council accepted the resignation of Mr. Petur Beron, the former SDS leader. The resignation was "considered in a different context following the allegations against Mr. Beron."

Mr. Beron declared he has never sympathized with the communist system and will continue his struggle against the theory and practice of communism.

Mr. Yordanov's nomination will be considered together with any alternative nominations, Mr. Dimitrov said. He, however, set no deadline for the election of a new SDS leader.

Editorial: Resignation 'Suspicious'

AU0612122290 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 5 Dec 90 p 1

[Untitled editorial]

[Text] Petur Beron's resignation was announced by the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS]. This is a significant event in the opposition's life. Something in its leadership is not functioning properly and evokes various assumptions.

One is disturbed by the fact that the resignation has been announced publicly when Beron himself is abroad. At the same time the reason for the resignation is clear; namely, the SDS leader leaves the political scene for the sake of his scientific interests. In principle, this is possible. However, the question is whether this is convincing at such an important moment of the social situation's development. Just a few days ago Mr. Beron was in his element as a parliamentary lion, a speaker at rallies, an opponent of the ruling party, and even a candidate for the post of prime minister. He spared no effort or words in attempting to convince the public that the opposition is on the attack. And suddenly—farewell friends and foes, farewell to political ambitions! There is something suspicious in this hasty and unexpected departure.

Various rumors are circulating in society in connection with the opposition leader's resignation. According to some, the resignation is a result of internal infighting within the SDS. According to others, the reason is related to incorrect moves by the SDS parliamentary group in connection with the budget and the no confidence vote against Lukanov. According to still others, the resignation was prompted by embarrassing details in the gentleman's biography. We shall refrain from commentaries. Regardless what the rumors are, the results are evident, and society only wastes time guessing. In this context it would be appropriate if SDS responsible circles and Beron himself dispersed the guesses. This would favorably influence the public mood at the present complex moment.

One should not dramatize the resignation of a leader under the new political conditions. However, fully revealing its circumstances is a mandatory prerequisite for this. In this case there is no clarity, and this evokes conditions for political and moral gossip. Gossip, whatever it is, destroys the confidence in the political force that announced the resignation. Therefore, it would be appropriate if the SDS threw additional light on Mr. Beron's abdication. Otherwise, people will be left with the impression that democracy again was sacrificed to the old totalitarian habits.

Somebody has to let the cat out of the bag in the name of public confidence. Otherwise, Mr. Beron's resignation will evoke many doubts, especially among his supporters. We are convinced that no one will benefit from this. The public ear is thirsty for the truth and one should not put the public to a test in the name of secret political games.

Lilov Addresses BSP Supporters in TV Address

AU0612162190 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 5 Dec 90 pp 1,2

["Official statement" by Aleksandur Lilov, chairman of the Bulgarian Socialist Party Supreme Council on 4 December; place not given; originally broadcast on television]

[Text] Good evening, esteemed viewers.

I asked for television time to address all Socialists, supporters, and voters of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP].

A few days ago I made an official statement on Bulgarian Television and called you to support the government of Andrey Lukanov. It was clear, as I stressed at the time, that the issue in question was not the adoption of the state budget by the Grand National Assembly, but the fate of the government.

You know that the BSP parliamentary group categorically supported the budget, and it was adopted. The proposal of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] to vote no confidence in the government was rejected by a majority in a secret vote. Rallies in support of the government and Andrey Lukanov with the participation of many thousands of people took place in Sofia and throughout the country. All this shows that the BSP responsibly implements its parliamentary obligations as a ruling party that supports the government.

It is known that on 29 November the government resigned. This took place in an atmosphere of high political tension in Sofia and certain cities, evoked by the activity of certain political forces and the leaderships of the two trade union organizations.

The reasons for the resignation were explained by the prime minister at the Grand National Assembly. They clearly were grouped in two clusters: the first—the lack of conditions and broad parliamentary support for implementing the economic reform program. The second—the need to establish a national government, rather than a single-party one.

I would like to point out with extreme clarity: The proposal for the resignation of the government was not discussed by the BSP Supreme Council Presidium or by the Supreme Council itself. Nevertheless, the aforementioned reasons for the resignation are very essential and objectively correct. One could add that before the elections, during the election campaign, and after the elections the BSP consistently adhered to a policy of a multiparty government of national consensus.

Because of all this the representatives of the BSP leadership in the Political Consultative Council at the Presidency of the Republic supported the opportunity that emerged to establish such a government. After an open and long discussion the BSP Supreme Council also adopted the agreements achieved by the Political Consultative Council, and at present talks are being conducted between the parliamentary political forces on establishing a national government of peaceful transition.

One cannot say that the government's resignation is an insignificant event in our party's life. This would be an irresponsible assessment. We must draw all the appropriate conclusions and relevant lessons. However, one should not dramatize this event. Under the realities that emerged the government did not have appropriate conditions for beginning the implementation of its economic reform program. Power is not a goal in itself for the BSP, which is renewing itself. It is necessary to do everything to establish a government of national consensus, capable of protecting the peaceful transition toward democracy and to begin the economic reforms. In taking this step, our party did not show political weakness, as some people think, but political maturity, good sense, and national responsibility. We expect the same from our partners. The talks cannot be protracted. It is necessary to quickly form a strong government, which should immediately begin work to lead the country out of the crisis. If someone attempts to prevent the implementation of the agreements achieved by the Political Consultative Council, he should assume public responsibility for such actions. This would mean a new and very serious political crisis in the country.

Regardless of how difficult this is, the party must assess the realities as they are, rather than in an emotional, hasty, and onesided manner. In this case we face two political realities, from which we must draw correct conclusions:

The first reality is the resignation of the government, which has already been submitted, and the opportunity to establish a national government of peaceful transition. The conclusion that stems from this reality is that we constructively negotiate for the establishment of such a government on a mutually acceptable basis and in the interest of quickly leading the country out of the crisis.

The second reality is the reflection of the resignation on the party's situation. Many members and supporters of the party disagree with this event, or are confused by it. I would like to repeat—it is necessary to demonstrate realism and responsibility while assessing the event. Let us not succumb to emotions and illusions. Under the present conditions the force and attacking character of the party are based first of all on its ability to be a basic factor in democratizing the country and implementing the economic reform.

The conclusion is that we must do everything to preserve the BSP as a basic, influential, and constructive political force of the peaceful transition to democracy.

I address all Socialists and supporters of the BSP—there is no reason for pessimism. There is a place for criticism and increased responsibility, and for more activity and an aggressive spirit in party actions. There is no place for internal party infighting and suspicions. There is one task above everything else—to preserve the BSP as a really changing, strong, mass, and parliamentary political party in the creation of democratic Bulgaria and in implementing the socialist values such as freedom, democracy, justice, and solidarity.

The BSP must persevere and strengthen and organize its own political attack, as well as the political attack of its supporters for the peaceful transition to democracy in our country.

This is your task as Socialists, and we must do everything to implement it! I believe that we will succeed.

Thank you for your attention.

Communist Party Claims Old Headquarters Building

AU0612171390 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 6 Dec 90

[Text] The party headquarters should be restored to the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], its legitimate owner.

This was announced at a news conference of BCP leaders today. They stated that after having received no answer to their applications submitted to Aleksandur Lilov and Andrey Lukanov, they submitted a legal claim. It was stressed that so far the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] has not made any premises available to its former fellow workers. In the big cities of the country the Communists are forced to work in private homes, or as it was expressed at the news conference, the BCP is functioning almost underground. On the one hand it is a registered party; on the other it is deprived of all working facilities.

The journalists did not obtain an answer to their question about the current membership figures, but they were briefed on the subject of its social composition. Once upon a time the BCP was composed of idealists, careerists, who were declared as nomenklatura cadres, of people who became members by accident, and of foreign agents. Today, only the idealists have remained, Khristo Arnaudov, secretary of the Central Committee, said. Vladimir Spasov, first secretary of the BCP Central Committee, announced the new BCP as the legitimate heir and successor of the party founded by Blagoev and Dimitrov, based on the ideals of Marxism-Leninism, and on the principle of building socialism in Bulgaria.

The attempts of the nomenklatura and its agents to nip our party in the bud and to sabotage our regular 15th Congress were a failure, Vladimir Spasov said.

Assembly Liberalizes Law on Economic Activities

AU0612175890 Sofia BTA in English 1728 GMT 6 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, December 6 (BTA)—The Grand National Assembly today enacted legislation liberalizing the economic activity regulations and specifically intended to attract foreign investment to Bulgaria.

Dramatic amendments were introduced in Decree No. 56 on Economic Activity, which has been in force since the beginning of 1989. These urgent measures had to be taken because the drafting and the passage of a trade law may take as many as six months and the grave economic crisis in which the country has found itself requires a radical liberalization of business enterprise.

The idea of the amendments is to level the opportunities of private and cooperative companies with those of the state and the municipal companies which used to enjoy preferential treatment, especially in their foreign trade. Profits tax is reduced from 50 to 40 per cent, and the defrayals to the municipal people's councils—essentially, an unlawful tax—will no longer be mandatory for private companies. The foreign investment regulations have been substantially revised. The restrictions in force so far have been the crucial factor putting off foreign investors. Between the beginning of 1989 and the end of 1990 foreign investment has totalled an insignificant 4-5 million U.S. dollars.

The amendments adopted today put Bulgaria on an equal footing with the other East European countries which liberalized their statutes in this field much earlier.

The MP's took nearly a month to debate the amendments but the MP's representing the different political forces did not have substantive differences on the matters of principle.

After prolonged discussions parliament carried a clause disqualifying employees of central and local departments to establish and manage private companies and partnerships in person or through figureheads. The disqualification extends to persons employed in a state or a municipal company and wishing to form a private company with the same objects.

In addition, the MP's, the government ministers, the members of municipal administrations, high-ranking officials in the bodies of executive power, the employees of the Ministry of National Defence and of the Ministry of Internal Affairs may not be chairmen and members of companies' administrative councils. This is intended to stop the "money laundering" in which quite a few members of the former Communist Party nomenklatura are engaged at present.

Council of Ministers Statement on Reforms Noted

AU0712105390 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 5 Dec 90 pp 1,3

[Report on Council of Ministers statement issued in Sofia on 30 November: "Let Us Not Waste Time"]

[Text] The Grand National Assembly adopted a decision on 30 November 1990 with which it supported the agreement reached within the framework of the Political Consultative Council under the president of the Republic. The present government is expected to exercise its functions until the parliament has elected a national government of peaceful transition.

In this connection the Council of Ministers held two successive sessions during which it examined and adopted measures on some of the most crucial problems in the national economic and social sectors likely to guarantee the most urgent needs in this respect. In addition to this the Council of Ministers is guided by the understanding expressed in the declaration of the Council of Ministers' chairman on 29 November 1990 that, under the current sociopolitical situation and in view of the government's forthcoming resignation, the total implementation of the measures envisaged in the timetable for the first 100 days of the reform is impossible. There is even more: The government considers it incorrect to adopt any essential measures and to engage in important international transactions during the last days of its term of office which would confront the new government with accomplished facts.

At the same time, the Bulgarian public should clearly realize that the protracting of some extremely important decisions that are of decisive significance for the future of the reforms in Bulgaria may involve irrevocable and dramatically negative implications for the economic and social sphere. The nation will be obliged to pay a high price for such delays. This applies in particular to the special measures aimed at restoring the balance of the financial-monetary sphere and the better supply for the domestic market, the implementation of the budget, the introduction of new credit and interest policies, the signing of an agreement with the International Monetary Fund, which is expected to determine the further successful solution of the problem related to postponing the foreign debt, and the according of bilateral and multilateral assistance to Bulgaria.

At this crucial moment everyone should be clearly aware of the fact that every wasted day is a day lost for Bulgaria.

Teachers Decide To Join National Student Strike

AU0612214890 Sofia BTA in English 2016 GMT 6 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, 6 Dec (BTA)—"Until recently they tried to convince us that academe is composed of university teachers only. Now we can say that students are its rightful members," said representatives of the Coordinating Council of Teachers and Employees in Senior and Junior Colleges on Strike in Bulgaria. They said that unlike the stand they took on the students' summer strike when they just guaranteed the protest which brought down President Mladenov, they are now actively involved in the strike.

All senior and junior colleges on strike have joined the October 25 memorandum of the strike committees. The striking teachers believe there is still no danger of cancelling the academic year.

The strike will go on until the text of the political forces agreement is finalized and the students approve it.

The SDS [Union of Democratic Forces], the Agrarian Party, the Movement for Rights and Freedoms and other organizations said they would guarantee the students' demands.

Sofia university teachers and employees today staged an "academic presence" around the university building demanding "immediate guarantees that the students' demands will be met."

The students' principal demand, the resignation of Mr. Lukanov's socialist government, has already been fulfilled. But the students insist on naming the culprits for the country's grave crisis and on confiscating the property of the Socialist (formerly Communist) Party.

BZNS Permanent Board Meeting Announcement

AU0612155190 Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 4 Dec 90 p 1

[Text] In accordance with the Charter of the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union [BZNS] on 3 December the BZNS Permanent Board met and decided to conduct an accountability meeting of the BZNS local branches in December 1990 and January 1991, at which the work of their organs and leaderships after the Extraordinary 36th BZNS Congress must be reviewed. The unanimous opinion was expressed that despite the fact that the meeting will not have the function of electing new leaderships, it could be purposeful to effect certain cadre changes, if the present dynamic political situation so requires.

It was decided to organize in the oblast cities as soon as possible meetings of the chairmen of the BZNS municipal leaderships and the BZNS members in provisional municipal executive committees, which have been elected. At those meetings their role in propagating the BZNS ideas and positions in the period of Bulgaria's peaceful transition toward democracy was pointed out. Members of the BZNS leadership can take part in those meetings.

The declaration of the National Student Strike Committee and the appeal of the Coordination Committee of teachers and employees of the striking higher and semi-higher schools to the Grand National Assembly, the chairman of the Republic, the political forces represented in the parliament, and the Bulgarian trade unions were reviewed at the meeting. Total support for the Bulgarian students' political demands was expressed.

Political Declaration of Democratic Youth Congress

AU0612152690 Sofia MLADEZH in Bulgarian 4 Dec 90 p 1

[Declaration of Second Congress of Bulgarian Democratic Youth on work of Grand National Assembly, Government, and Political Forces; place and date not given]

[Text] The Congress of the Bulgarian Democratic Youth attributes great importance to the work of the legislative and executive state organs in resolving the problems of young people in our country. The separate political forces can significantly contribute to this process.

In this context the congress expresses dissatisfaction and alarm with the passivity of the Grand National Assembly and its lack of interest in the problems of youth. The refusal of the Grand National Assembly to establish a special parliamentary commission on youth and the absence of any youth issues in the work of the Grand National Assembly until now, confirm this situation. The youth attract the attention of the people's representatives only when serious social tension emerges.

The activity of the government that ruled until now is not much different. Certain separate decisions adopted by the government, mainly related to the students, were adopted not as a part of a long-range policy toward youth that has been thought over, but under the pressure of circumstances. The introduction at the Grand National Assembly of a project on resolving the pressing social problems of the youth remains an empty promise.

The territorial organs are idle.

The political forces have significantly "contributed" to this situation. They attribute to youth the role of an instrument of achieving their own goals in the struggle for power. The Congress of the Bulgarian Democratic youth cannot support a policy which ostensibly aims at resolving youth problems, while in practice it treats youth as political supporters, in other words, as voters or political opponents. Some 42.31 percent of the youth that have been polled, think that no political force defends the interests of the socially weak people.

The Congress of the Bulgarian Democratic Youth demands that the state organs and political forces seriously reassess their policy vis-a-vis youth and (within the framework of their prerogatives) immediately begin to resolve the most acute youth problems, while having in mind the future development of the youth.

Because of our organization's goals and character we express readiness to work with the various trade unions in resolving the problems of youth. The specific activities of those organizations will predetermine our attitude to them.

The Congress of the Bulgarian Democratic youth considers it necessary to draw the attention of the state organs and political forces to the following problems:

The hitherto party-state policy toward the youth, the total social crisis, and the passiveness of the state institutions strengthened the social inequality of Bulgarian youth. Today the majority of young people are a part of the socially jeopardized strata in our country. This is shown by the results of the empirical social research conducted two weeks ago by the "Sigma" Public Opinion Research Bureau. Some 55 percent of the young people polled are afraid of losing their jobs in the near future (some 7.4 percent are already unemployed). The fact that the concern of young people with the future is related mainly to the difficulties in obtaining food and other goods (59.5 percent), price increases (59.2 percent); and unjust labor wages (48.9 percent) illustrates the present situation of young people. Concern about the mutual lack of respect and increasing hatred (47.6 percent); the growing crime rate (45.6 percent); and low incomes (45.3 percent) also occupies an important place in the prevailing mood among the youth.

Therefore, the aforementioned facts must be taken into consideration while formulating state policy to overcome the crisis and distribute the "burden."

Guaranteeing a comprehensive system of adequate social mechanisms has primary importance under the conditions of the crisis. In other words, no difficulties can justify the inability to resolve the youth problem, if the solution of this problem is considered a precondition of the young people's normal development and efficient incorporation in social life.

The Congress of the Bulgarian Democratic Youth demands that by 31 December 1990 the Grand National Assembly (the Commission on social policy), the new government, the political forces, and the trade unions in Bulgaria begin consultations with all youth organizations on working out a state policy on youth issues.

Declaration on Property Issued

AU0612155690 Sofia MLADEZH in Bulgarian 4 Dec 90 p 1

[Declaration of the Second Congress of the Bulgarian Democratic Youth; place and date not given]

[Text] The congress fully approves the agreement signed between the Bulgarian Democratic Youth and the other youth organizations.

The issue of the legal succession of the Bulgarian Democratic Youth is an anachronism. While correct from the judicial point of view, it is of doubtful moral value. In fact, the issue of the Bulgarian Democratic Youth's property is a matter of principle and relates to the organization's existence and future. The property of the Dimitrov Komsomol Youth Union and the Bulgarian Democratic Youth, which originated from the state, belongs to all youth organizations and must be managed by them.

The process of returning this property clearly showed that there is no chance that this property could be used any longer by the youth. It is our desire that our youth own everything that was created in the name of youth.

Diplomatic Links Established With Vatican

AU0612143490 Sofia BTA in English 1338 GMT 6 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, December 6 (BTA)—Guided by their mutual desire to promote friendly relations, the Republic of Bulgaria and the Vatican decided to establish diplomatic relations at the level of embassy for the Republic of Bulgaria and Apostolic Nunciature for the Vatican, reads an official statement of the Foreign Ministry published today.

The Vatican had its representative in Bulgaria till 1948 but it is the first time that diplomatic relations have been established between the two countries.

Talks Held With Foreign Creditor Banks in London

AU0612214690 Sofia BTA in English 2049 GMT 6 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, 6 Dec (BTA)—A delegation of the Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank held the latest in a series of negotiations with the consultative committee of its foreign commercial creditor banks in London on December 3 and 4. The sides considered aspects of an interim agreement on an eighteen-month deferral of all payments on principal and interest owed by the Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank before a final rescheduling of this debt servicing.

The Bulgarian delegation came up with suggestions to narrow down the existing differences between the debtor and the consultative committee of commercial creditor banks.

The Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank pointed out in a press release circulated to the BTA that during the talks the consultative committee made clear its unchanged insistence on a review of the status of the Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank indebtedness and on their immediate collateralization by the Bulgarian state without an agreement on a long-term restructuring of the debt.

The consultative committee's stand is inconsistent with international practices. If it is accepted, Bulgaria will face unfavourable and inequitable terms in the future negotiations on the rescheduling of its debt servicing compared to other debtor countries, any future government will be burdened by unrealistic commitments, and most foreign investors and lenders will lose interest in Bulgaria, the Bulgarian bank says in its press release.

The bank points out that the postponement of the signing of an interim agreement despite the readiness of some commercial banks to accept the submitted proposals requires continued contacts with the consultative committee on finding a mutually acceptable and reasonable solution to the problems concerning the convertible currency indebtedness of the Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank.

Election Results in South Slovakia Worry Slovaks

AU0612163190 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 1 Dec 90 p 3

[Jan Fuele commentary: "Shall We Be 'Governed by Hungarians'?; On the Election Results in Southern Slovakia"]

[Text] How short our memories are.... Many people are quite seriously taken aback by the fact that deputies of Hungarian nationality will clearly dominate in the local representative bodies in the districts of southern Slovakia. In many cases the share of Hungarian deputies will exceed by a multiple factor the proportion of the Hungarian population there. It suffices to return to mid-September when representatives of the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH], supported by deputies of Hungarian nationality, put forward a motion in the Slovak National Council that deputy seats in local representative bodies be filled also according to the proportional representation of the population living in ethnically mixed areas. At that time representatives of the Public Against Violence movement and of the Democratic Party rejected similar attempts. Was it out of exaggerated faith in their own strength or out of absence of political realism?

Now, a few days after the elections, we are taken aback by something which, given the tense situation in the south of Slovakia, was not difficult to anticipate. The line taken by those who concentrated power in their hands on the basis of parliamentary elections helped those who seek to gain this power. It can scarcely be assumed that the highly conciliatory statement by the Hungarian Independent Initiative, whose deputies pledged to represent even those who did not achieve the needed representation in self-administration bodies, or the expression of support for Prime Minister Meciar by deputies for the coalition of the Egyutteles/Coexistence movement and the Hungarian KDH in the city of Komarno will calm down Slovak nationalists. After the parliamentary debate on the state language, Slovak nationalists renamed the Slovak National Council the Slovak Nationality Council. Who knows what name they will choose for the local self-administration bodies in southern Slovakia.

New Prague Prosecutor Appointed 3 Dec

AU0612155790 Prague PRACE in Czech 4 Dec 90 p 2

[Unattributed report in the "Briefly" column]

[Text] The Municipal Prosecutor's Office in Prague confirms that as of 3 December 1990 Helena Trinkwitzova, LLD., former deputy municipal prosecutor in Prague for the criminal section, was appointed the municipal prosecutor for the capital city of Prague.

CSL News Conference on 'New Political Line'

AU0612104890 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 1 Dec 90 p 3

["em"-signed report: "Endeavor To Be a Qualified Opposition"]

[Text] Prague— After the departure of Dr. Bartoncik from the post of party chairman, the political line of the Czechoslovak People's Party [CSL] has undergone certain changes. These changes were discussed by CSL representatives—some of whom, including the general secretary and two deputy chairmen, are newly elected—at their meeting with journalists yesterday.

Engineer J. Lux, the CSL chairman, was unable to take part in the news conference because of other duties but, according to R. Sacher, it was precisely after his taking up of office that the party stopped behaving like a defiant subject. It has not yet become a fully qualified opposition, according to R. Sacher, but its endeavor is directed toward this objective. The CSL has established the first contacts with the president of the republic and the Civic Forum chairman and the party's economic commission is trying to contribute in a qualified manner to the economic reform—CSL representatives in the government, parliament, and the Czech National Council, for example, are striving to prevent the conservation of socialist residues in the new laws. The CSL understands its coalition with the Christian Democratic Movement as an integrating element of the federation, the existence of which, however, will only be meaningful as long as it is truly functional. In this context Docent A. Baudys, deputy prime minister of the Czech Government, called attention to the endeavor of European Christian parties at the federal setup of Europe and to the absurdity of the attempts at the disintegration of our federation.

The journalists learned, furthermore, that the Austrian weekly PROFIL had to apologize for the accusations which it raised against [the then CSL chairman] Dr. Bartoncik in June [concerning his alleged past collaboration with the secret police]. It is remarkable that the Czechoslovak press has not reported this so far.

Replying to a LIDOVE NOVINY question, the CSL representatives conceded that two compromised employees of the International Organization of Journalists, one of whom is a former close collaborator of Jakes junior, work in the party's economic organization (the Projektingkonsult firm). The CSL functionaries were supposedly unaware of the past of these two executives, who are now being subjected to rigid economic control. The CSL representatives said that so far the pages of LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE do not reflect the CSL's new political line too perceptibly. The CSL leadership leaves all the changes that should take place in the daily within the jurisdiction of its chief editor. Only if he fails to carry out these changes would the CSL leadership recall him from his post.

At the instruction of the party Presidium, all workers of the party's staff and editors of party publications are now being subjected to screening, the aim of which is to purge the party and the editorial staffs of "contaminated" individuals.

The CSL has almost 100,000 members. It is satisfied with the result of the local elections, especially with the results in South Moravia where it placed first in several districts. The party was least successful in Prague where it got only six percent of the vote.

[Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech on 1 December on page 2 carries a 600-word "pen"-signed report on the above news conference. According to the ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY report, Richard Sacher also commented on the recent dismissal of Jiri Muller from the post of director of the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy (UOUD). Sacher reportedly welcomed Minister of Interior Langos' decision because "Mr. Muller strove for a strong concentration of power in the UOUD, which was without parallel even in the days of the State Security Corps (StB). Under Mr. Muller, people used to be hired into the UOUD on the basis of cronyism and they were often people without education and qualification. I am able to furnish evidence that former members of the StB, graduates of the KGB academy, work there to this very day. To be able to prove that they are needed, these people have activated the networks of their informers."]

Parliament Urged To Control Intelligence Service

AU0612132090 Prague CTK in English 1809 GMT 4 Dec 90

[Text] Prague Dec 4 (CTK)—All political parties represented in the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly (parliament) are in favour of the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy being subordinated to and controlled by the parliament and not by the Interior Ministry as it has been so far.

Replying to CTK correspondents, the nationalist Slovak National Party (15 seats in the 300-member parliament) had a different opinion, demanding that first of all Offices for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy should be set up in the two republics and then a federal office should be set up, to be subordinated to the republic and the federal parliaments.

The spokesmen for all parties explain the need for the intelligence service to be controlled by the parliament by negative experiences with the omnipotent state security which was disbanded at the beginning of this year. The Slovak Public Against Violence movement believes that "never again should a situation arise when some institution would be so omnipotent to get beyond the control of society".

The Federal Assembly will soon debate a bill on this institution whose director Jiri Mueller was dismissed from the post on November 27 by the interior minister. In a statement to CTK, Mueller said he had been dismissed because of a long-lasting dispute between himself and the Interior Ministry about who would control the office. At today's Federal Assembly session, one of the deputies raised a request for the interior minister to explain why he had fired Mueller but withdrew his request after three Civic Forum deputies told him it was a very "complicated political problem" which was being discussed by the parliamentary committees and that it would be inconvenient for the time being to debate it at the plenary session.

Czechoslovak People's Party and Slovak National Party spokesmen believe that while debating the bill on the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy the parliament should learn from the experiences in building similar services in advanced Western countries, in particular in Germany.

Only a few parties responded to the question of a mechanism of controlling the office. The People's Party thinks it should be controlled by a permanent parliamentary commission in which all parliamentary parties should be represented. A representative of the Communist Party of Slovakia-Democratic Left Party thought that the office should engage only in activities defined by the law and when intervening in matters related to civic rights and freedoms could act only upon the Prosecutor's consent.

Czechoslovak Interior Minister Jan Langos told a closed parliamentary session yesterday that in his opinion the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy would cease to be controlled by his ministry within one or two months.

Muller Discusses Dismissal, Intelligence Service

AU0612111290 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 30 Nov 90 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Jiri Muller, former director of the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy, by Evzen Stanek; place and date not given: "I Do Not Trust the Ministry"—first paragraph is RUDE PRAVO introduction]

[Text] Engineer Jiri Muller, former director of the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy—who was recalled by Federal Interior Minister Jan Langos on Tuesday [27 November]—said to me at the beginning of our Wednesday's [28 November] meeting: "I did not come to Prague to struggle for power but to establish an intelligence service."

[Muller] I took over the office when the office was in chaos and, as long as I was making efforts to establish a fundamental structure enabling the office to fulfill its tasks, there were no problems. Today, of course, the office is operational and can provide information. I believe that my recall is linked with the question of who will control the office and information it provides.

[Stanek] You proposed parliamentary control over the office. Does Minister Langos want to keep this control for himself?

[Muller] We have differing opinions about intelligence service. This will become apparent during the discussion about the pertinent draft law. The office succeeded in that this draft law will be discussed in the Federal Assembly—the Security and Defense Committees have already expressed approval with some of its sections. Now, the minister wants to change the draft law. This is ok, nothing is perfect, yet I would be happy if the deputies paid careful attention to what parts of the draft will be changed.

[Stanek] As the direct reason for your dismissal the minister cited the confusion that you had caused in parliament by an incorrect interpretation of one ministerial meeting....

[Muller] Confusion existed, above all, at the Federal Ministry of the Interior. I was told to prepare, within 24 hours, comments on some changes to the concept of the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy. I thought these changes to be too serious to be dealt with by only four people who met at a ministerial consultation—i.e., changes too serious to treat them as an internal matter of the Ministry of the Interior.

Basically, the new concept for the office was the issue. This concept included the abolishment of county offices and excluding some intelligence-gathering means, thereby cutting the number of its employees to about one fifth. This would mean to start anew, but it would also mean a number of changes to the equipment, personnel, and other changes, which would significantly increase the power of the Federal Ministry of the Interior to the detriment of the office.

I was of the opinion that parliament was competent to pass its opinion on these changes and this was the source of disenchantment of the minister and his deputies. He said to me that I was forming a clique in parliament, that I was acting on my own, and that I did not trust the Federal Ministry. The latter is true, however. I do not trust the ministry, particularly when I realize that there are a number of departments where no screening has been conducted as yet. There is, for instance, the Statistical and Record Keeping department, a sort of information center, where not a single person has been replaced, yet this department provides us with erroneous information. In our office, even the women on a longer maternity leave were rescreened.

[Stanek] The minister is a supporter of a small and easily controllable agency. Do you think that we need a strong, and evidently difficult-to-control, intelligence service?

[Muller] If the minister has an idea of a "Canadian model" of intelligence service, then he is forgetting that Canada is surrounded by sea on three sides and from the fourth side it is protected by U.S. special services—and there has not been a war there for a few centuries. Czechoslovakia, however, radically changed its political system after forty years. It changed its orientation of foreign policy, and abolished its intelligence services. These changes have an influence, among other things, on the growth of radical groups and, with the opening of the borders, international crime penetrates our country and so do foreign intelligence services, who make use of their old relations with the State Security.

[Stanek] What do you think about Minister Langos' statement that another reason why he recalled you was to stop political disinformation and scandals that would threaten to break out in case of unauthorized publication of the working results of the office?

[Muller] I really cannot answer this, I do not know about any scandalizing information.

[Stanek] How many times did your office resort to eavesdropping?

[Muller] There are instances of eavesdropping, as when the Federal Ministry of the Interior is ordered by the prosecutor to monitor someone within the framework of a criminal prosecution. The draft law anticipates instances in which the Federal Service could, for its own needs, eavesdrop on someone, of course, with the consent of the prosecutor. The cases of eavesdropping of the first kind are numerous, as far as the second type is concerned, I have not signed a single instance of it, simply because the law does not allow it.

[Stanek] What is your opinion about the minister's statement that the purpose of intelligence service is not to catch foreign spies, but to prevent, above all, information leaks?

[Muller] Some expressions and terminology used by the minister are difficult to understand. I do not want to comment on it. Instead, I will explain my idea. Our new intelligence service does not have to regard Western intelligence services as hostile, yet this does not mean that it should not be interested in what they are doing here—intelligence service must protect the interests of the state, its security, and the constitution. We can cooperate [with Western intelligence services] in many respects, for example, in the fight against drugs and terrorism, they are more experienced than we.

[Stanek] Some time ago, Deputy Sacher complained that the office was being constituted as a repressive organization having the right to arrest people, to conduct wiretaps, and to carry arms.

[Muller] The State Security had a whole chain of events under its control—from information gathering, to home-searches, of arrests, investigations, up to, in fact, court procedures. The office's product should only be information, not police actions—the office, in fact does not have police powers. Not so log ago, I had Swiss journalists here. When they learned that we are working in the sphere of terrorism and drugs, and that we did not have police powers, they told us: Take it easy, when you have a few dead bodies here, they will delegate you some powers....

Slovak Government Media Proposal Rejected

LD0612151190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1200 GMT 6 Dec 90

[Text] Chaired by Prime Minister Marian Calfa, the Federal Government met in Prague today. It discussed the draft law on the division of powers in the matters of press and other media between the federation, the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic. As the draft worked out by the Slovak National Council is based on a very narrow concept of the function and the sphere of influence of the federation and its constitutional bodies, the Federal Government proposed to the Federal Assembly that it not be discussed.

On the basis of the Slovak National Council draft, the federation would have no direct media independent of the republics which are necessary for securing the comprehensive flow of information to citizens about federal policy decisions and affairs. It also envisages that republics have at their disposal certain wavelengths in radio and television exclusively for their own use, which contradicts the agreements of all governments and the representations of the national governments.

The Federal Government approved this standpoint and entrusted Prime Minister Marian Calfa to sent it to the chairman of the Federal Assembly.

Meanwhile, the management of Czechoslovak radio in Prague acquainted itself today with the standpoint of the Federal Government on the draft law on the division of media between the federation and the national republics. It fully supports the viewpoint that the federation cannot be denied the right to set up its own media. This attitude is in full harmony with the ideas of the management of Czechoslovak radio on having a federative and two republic's self-standing radio organizations. In this connection it is working on the relevant legal and organizational measures with the aim of preventing this measure increasing the financial requirements of broadcasting.

Finance Minister Klaus Replies to Writers' Letter

AU0612151590

[Editorial Report] Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech on 27 November on page 16 carries a 600-word "open letter" addressed by the leading bodies of four major writers' and journalists' organizations in Czechoslovakia (the Community of Writers, the PEN Club, the Community of Translators, and the Syndicate of Journalists) to Minister of Finance Vaclav Klaus. Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech on 30 November on page 2 carries Vaclav Klaus' 700-word reply to the letter.

In their letter to Klaus, the writers express their fear about the future of book and newspaper publishing in Czechoslovakia, in view of the planned 200-percent increase in paper prices, 60-percent increase in the cost of printing, and 22-percent sales tax on books. They appeal to Klaus to reconsider the 22-percent tax on books as it will generate only 46 million korunas for the state budget but could seriously jeopardize the production of valuable literature, literature for children, and scientific and technical literature. The small gain for the state budget would thus be bought at the expense of "cultural losses that are hard to express in numbers." The writers also ask Klaus to consider the possibility of a "temporary state regulation of paper prices" to prevent the drastic 200-percent increase being planned.

In his reply, Klaus says that books will not be the only product affected by price increases. As for the increase in the price of paper and in printing costs, Klaus points out that "these changes are not organized by the government" and that the only way for the government to compensate for them would be by "a new introduction of subsidies."

As far as the sales tax on books is concerned, Klaus concedes that a 22-percent tax on "periodical and nonperiodical publications" is being considered as of next year. He says, however, that this tax rate does not necessarily have to apply indiscriminately to all literature. He says that the taxation of "truly valuable literature" could be lower than that of "purely commercial genres" and he invites the writers to cooperate in the search for "such a definition of categories of literature as would be clearly distinguishable to the tax man."

Klaus also appeals to the writers not to look for salvation in the abolition of the tax alone. He says that the solution to the problem of salability of books and periodicals lies in their quality and in finding new readers. Direct subsidies by the Ministry of Culture can only be a "supplementary solution."

New President Appointed for Military University

AU0612153590 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 4 Dec 90 p 2

[Unattributed report in the "News" column: "Exonerated University President"]

[Text] Yesterday, CSFR Defense Minister Lubos Dobrovsky appointed Lieutenant Colonel Professor Rudolf Hoffman, LLD., candidate of science, the chief—president of the Military Education University in Bratislava. In 1968, the appointee had to leave the ranks of the Czechoslovak Army because of his unacceptable opinions.

Defense Official on Military Education Statistics

AU0612124690 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 29 Nov 90 p 2

["oc"-signed report: "How Much Does the Army Cost?"]

[Text] Prague—"If we assume a budget of 31 billion korunas, then every CSFR citizen of productive age contributes to the Army the sum of 3,650 korunas annually ," Deputy CSFR Defense Minister Antonin Rasek said at yesterday's press conference. At the same time, he briefed the journalists on staffing military schools.

Antonin Rasek was presenting to reporters the response of Lubos Dobrovsky, minister of defense, to the interpellation by Federal Assembly Deputy Stanislav Devaty. The usual number of students applied for admission to the Military Technical Academy in Brno: 1,072 for the regular course of studies and 490 for the external course of studies. A total of 14,585 students are enrolled at military schools; 322 of them are foreign students. The outcome of the recruiting to military schools as of 31 October was 8.9 percent (as compared to 36 percent last year) [sentence as published].

There are three university-level military schools and five secondary schools in the Czech Republic. One autonomous faculty, three university-level schools, and seven secondary schools are located in Slovakia. National distribution at the universities in the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic is approximately on par; there are mostly Czech educators in the Czech Republic and Slovak in the Slovak Republic (in each case on the average about 70 and 30 percent). The future professional Army, according to Antonin Rasek, will be based on a scenario which has three stages—until 1993, until 1997, and after 2000. The progress must be in accord with modernization: Military education must prepare hundreds of high-level experts for careers as platoon commanders, snipers, etc. The Army intends to obtain scientific personnel from among civilians to serve 10 to 15 years; secondary school graduates should serve three to six years. The Army will provide complete retraining for their return to civilian life.

Civilian life was chosen by 15 to 20 percent of former political instructors, another 15 to 20 percent of them were retrained for other service. Mostly young people with appropriate education remain in the educational apparatus of the Army. Members of the military counterespionage organization are screened very strictly. In the future, this institution will be involved in defense intelligence and will have about one-fifth of the present personnel.

Goodwill Mission, Iraq's Husayn Discuss Hostages

AU0612155490 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 4 Dec 90 p 1

["otj"-signed report: "Goodwill Mission to Baghdad"]

[Excerpt] The 40 Czechoslovak citizens being held in Iraq, together with hostages from other countries, who have already all but become reconciled to the idea that they will spend this year's Christmas far away from their families, may soon return home, after all.

This is a result of an initiative by the Palestine Liberation Organization which, through its representative missions in Prague and Baghdad, mediated a meeting between a Czechoslovak goodwill mission and the Iraqi head of state S. Husayn. The talks will also be attended by Palestine President Y. 'Arafat. [passage omitted]

Agreement Reached on Citizens' Release

LD0612211190 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 2030 GMT 6 Dec 90

[Text] According to information from Palestinian diplomatic sources, an agreement was reached with the Iraqi leadership on issues concerning the release of Czechoslovak citizens from Iraq.

This means that all of them should return to their homeland with the goodwill mission led by Army General Miroslav Vacek.

The Palestinian Embassy in Prague announced that the agreement had been reached with PLO help.

Starting Talks on Short-Range Weapons Urged

LD0612125790 Prague CTK in English 1151 GMT 6 Dec 90

[Text] Prague Dec 6 (CTK)—Czechoslovakia is interested in the planned talks on short-range nuclear weapons between the Soviet Union and the United States to start as soon as possible.

A statement to this effect was handed over by Deputy Foreign Minister Zdenek Matejka to the ambassadors of the NATO member states and the Soviet Union to Czechoslovakia today.

It said that other countries concerned, including Czechoslovakia, should join the talks in later stages.

Joint Military Agreement Signed With France

AU0612124090 Prague CTK in English 2201 GMT 4 Dec 90

[Text] Prague Dec 4 (CTK)—Lieutenant General Anton Slimak, the deputy federal minister of defense and chief of staff of the Czechoslovak Army, signed here today an agreement on the exchange of persons and military intelligence between Czechoslovakia and France for the years 1991-92 with Maurice Schmitt, the chief of staff of the French Armed Forces.

Army General Schmitt, who ends his four-day visit to Czechoslovakia today, added that more specific agreements will be prepared next year.

Asked about the construction of a system of European security Schmitt said that in his opinion every country has a right to safeguard its security by itself. He called for the best possible relations with the Soviet Union and for a successful completion of the Helsinki Process.

Schmitt also met Czechoslovak Minister of Defense Lubos Dobrovsky and visited several units of the Czechoslovak Army and the Military Academy in Brno, South Moravia, during his stay.

Vales Outlines Prospects for Trade With China

AU0612180390 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 4 Dec 90 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Deputy Prime Minister Vaclav Vales by Milan Srb; place and date not given: "A Market of One Billion People"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Srb] In the past, a considerable part of our exports to China consisted of turnkey projects. Will we continue to supply these?

[Vales] Four interesting and comprehensive turnkey projects are under negotiation. We should begin supplying these units in the very near future. If we are successful in winning the contracts that have been put out to tender—and we have reason to believe that we will be—we could supply equipment for gasifying coal. This is a project worth $60 million. We also want to participate in the expansion of the Beijing heating plant (the contract for the boilers is worth $200 million) and we are striving to win orders to equip a surface mine (to the value of $60 million).

We are also negotiating about supplying a power conversion plant to Tibet worth $40 million. We would construct this plant in cooperation with the Austrian company Floyd which would provide the pumps. We would supply the rest of the equipment. Although these would not be projects for one year, they indicate the possibilities for the next few years.

Next year, if we manage to successfully bring into operation at least one of the 500 megawatt blocks we are constructing at the Shentou [spelling as published] power plant, we have a chance of winning an order for another two blocks. [passage omitted]

[Srb] We want to expand our economic ties. What can we offer in competition with, for example, Japan or the Asian "tigers"?

[Vales] Of course, there are certain handicaps on our side—China is far away and there are language barriers. Our advantage is that—without price concessions—we are capable of accepting part of the remuneration in supplies of consumer goods. We could place Chinese textiles on our market without any problems. Western companies have no interest in these counter-deliveries; they want money. China has an ambitious program for its traditional and nuclear power industries. We are capable of supplying equipment for both; however, it is necessary to cooperate with Western partners in supplying nuclear power plants, first and foremost, in security systems.

Czechoslovak foreign trade organizations should also show an interest. At least one of these should be transformed into a trading association which will buy and sell in China. The fact that this idea works is confirmed by the example of Western companies. A number of them have their branch offices here. We also have to take into account the fact that we are striving for a market of 1 billion people, quite a few of whom have significant purchasing power. Every market has some special traits; the Chinese market has many of them. We underestimated China a little, but we now recognize that it is a more prospective customer than many of the markets we have since abandoned.

Economy Minister Dlouhy Attends GATT Talks

AU0612131490 Prague CTK in English 2128 GMT 4 Dec 90

[Text] Brussels Dec 4 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovakia supports the maximum possible deregulation of international trade at the talks of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), Czechoslovak Economy Minister Vladimir Dlouhy who took part in the first two days of a closing meeting of GATT in Brussels told CTK here today.

Dlouhy said that Czechoslovakia does not take a stance "in between" two sides, the United States and the European Communities, on the issue of integration in agriculture. He said that the country seeks a return to Europe. It will start talks on association agreements with the EC and therefore supports it.

Besides the overall stress on deregulation of international trade, Czechoslovakia has to introduce short-term exceptions and a temporary regulation of trade in several sectors through imports surcharges or exports licenses.

The Czechoslovak Economy Minister also met a number of outstanding economy officials in Brussels. Michel Camdessus, the chairman of the Board of Executive Directors of the International Monetary Fund, told the Czechoslovak minister that he considers the current talks of the IMF mission in Prague very successful. "It may be expected that the IMF will confirm already early January the right course of the Czechoslovak economic reform," Dlouhy said.

Dlouhy also negotiated with Henning Christophersen, the deputy chairman of the EC Commission, the remaining details for granting financial assistance to Czechoslovakia next year.

Dlouhy said that meeting with Japanese Foreign Minister Taro Nakayama was very important. He said that Japan is aware of U.S. policy supporting Czechoslovakia. Japan could grant Czechoslovakia certain financial assistance, Dlouhy said.

Following the Czechoslovak minister's Brussels talks the Czechoslovak Government faces important tasks before important international sessions of the Council of

Europe and the EC at the end of the year. "Czechoslovakia still has time for bilateral talks. The country can develop further actions to gain financial assistance," Dlouhy said.

Minister Klaus on Orientation of Civic Forum

AU0612143090 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 3 Dec 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Living Off the Past Is Not Enough"]

[Text] Zlin—The future direction of the Civic Forum [OF] was described at a meeting of the District Civic Forums from Moravia and Silesia in Zlin on Saturday by the movement's chairman, Vaclav Klaus.

He pointed out that, above all, it is necessary to clarify the movement's goals because today it is not enough to live off the past. The voter cannot just say—if I vote OF, I cannot spoil anything.

Vaclav Klaus mentioned that regarding the aversion to the former regime nothing will change in the policy of the OF. At this time, however, unity in everyday life is important. Of course, the image of an all-embracing political movement is unrealistic. It is becoming more of a hindrance than help. The OF chairman emphasized that everything must point to the readiness to act. One cannot afford the luxury of lack of clarity or ability to formulate policies. The OF must be built from below.

In the discussion, the Moravian districts representatives expressed a request for the formation of a right-wing party with a clear political orientation, precise program, and structure. In this connection, they formed a group which is to formulate the delegates' views and to present them at the republic-wide meeting of the OF, which is to take place in Olomouc on 8 and 9 December.

Vaclav Klaus concluded his stay in South Moravia with a meeting with the citizens of Zlin and Uherske Hradiste. Their questions concerned, for instance, the fear of inflation and mass withdrawals of savings. Vaclav Klaus, in his function as the federal minister of finance, asked the participants to realize that such steps could destabilize even a much stronger economy than the Czechoslovak one. After all the savings reach the amount of 300 billion korunas and the owners would do better to keep them for privatization needs. It is one of the reasons why the government raised the interest rates and made the term deposits more advantageous.

The citizens were interested in the method of preparing the republic and federation budgets, taxation changes, convertibility of the koruna, and a decline in the standard of living. V. Klaus stressed that this year's national product will be about two percent lower, which is the least of the countries surrounding Czechoslovakia undergoing reforms. Moreover, nothing extraordinary is expected in Czechoslovakia by the IMF experts for next year.

Among other things, a demand was voiced at the meeting in Zlin that the entry in the Czechoslovak economy by Tomas Bata and other Western businessmen be accelerated by the Czech Government. Vaclav Klaus replied that negotiations are taking place but the issue involves some legalities and it is not a simple matter. During the period from 1 May to 30 November, the Federal Ministry of Finance approved the foundation of 934 companies with foreign capital participation.

Entrepreneurs Dissatisfied With Government's Laws

AU0612151690 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 3 Dec 90 p 8

[CTK report: "Dissatisfied Entrepreneurs"]

[Text] Delegates at the second Czech Republic Association of Czechoslovak Entrepreneurs General Assembly issued a statement yesterday in which they appeal to the public and to deputies in legislative bodies drawing their attention to the unacceptability of the government's draft law on extrajudicial rehabilitation. They suggest that the draft maintains the wrongdoing committed during the past 40 years. In the opinion of the association, conveyed by its spokesman O. Frinta at a press briefing, natural restitution should be contained in extrajudicial rehabilitation. If this were to be introduced prior to small and large-scale privatization, this process would be simplified, its scope would be reduced, and the possibility of scheming would be excluded.

According to O. Frinta, another problem is caused by the draft law on small-scale privatization. Privatization commissions have been set up by national committees in 37 districts which do not want to deal with the association's delegates appointed by Minister T. Jezek. The association considers business offices to be a third bone of contention. First and foremost, it does not agree that these offices should be managed by the Czech Interior Ministry which has the worst officials of all in the civilian administration sector.

In the above-mentioned statement, which the Czech Republic Association of Czechoslovak Entrepreneurs adopted on 1 December, the CSFR Government and Federal Assembly deputies are requested to finalize and approve a complete amendment to the law on economic relations with foreign companies. The statement also expresses disagreement with delaying the possibilities—on account of the jurisdiction disputes—for initiating entrepreneurial activity by physical persons in relation to foreign companies. The document also contains an appeal to P. Pithart to begin—as the guarantor of the activity of the Government Committee for the Development of Private Enterprise—to immediately deal with the staffing of his apparatus in view of the fact that the committee's activity is not in harmony with the principles according to which it was established.

Slovak Government 1 Dec Meeting Reported

AU0612150690 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 3 Dec 90 pp 1, 2

["(NO)"-signed report: "Traveling Abroad Without Restrictions"]

[Text] Bratislava—The Slovak Government held a session on Saturday [1 December]. Its Press and Information Department briefed us on its discussions at press briefings conducted in the afternoon and in the evening following the government session. The government agreed with a draft Federal Assembly law which enshrines the right of our citizens to freely travel abroad and return to their homeland. The length of residence abroad will in no way be regulated. The new legal amendment abolishes the previous system of issuing documents for business and private journeys. Children will be issued with special travel documents so that their movements will not have to be recorded in their parent's passports.

The Beginning of the End of Monopolies

The state anti-monopoly policy administration has looked into ways of maintaining an atmosphere of competition in enterprise and also of protecting consumers. The government made note of this as a starting point for a series of necessary measures and, at the same time, approved a budget for the newly established Slovak Anti-Monopoly Office.

Ambiguous Ownership

Proving the right to ownership of property—particularly of land—is very complicated in Slovakia. In many cases, land registers have not been preserved, their records are often incomplete, and the owners have changed over the years. A great deal of land was feudal, belonged to the Church, and was aryanized; later it was collectivized or nationalized. It is often impossible to find reliable proof of ownership for certain parcels of land. Therefore, the government has established a special commission headed by the justice minister which—before 15 January 1991—will draft a program for the revision of ownership relations and will prepare a method for clarifying property records.

Amending Regulations

New labor related legal relations and private enterprise require a whole series of partial amendments which will be applicable in the transition period. These amendments deal with the provision of free time with the appropriate remuneration of wages and contracts not included in the conditions for employment where only the minimum wage is determined and where subsequent remuneration will be a matter of agreement between the employee and the organization.

Priests as Teachers

The government approved a draft amendment on salaries for the clergy which eliminates the current salary discrimination against them. Salaries for the clergy will be set at the level of teachers with a university education, while the Church will also provide them with supplementary payments in accordance with their function in the Church hierarchy.

Support for Culture

The government approved a draft Slovak National Council [SNR] law on the state cultural fund which, along with subsidies, should become—as Minister L. Snopko stated at the press briefing—the second leg on which culture will stand. The Ministry of Culture, in accordance with recommendations made by the fund's council, will make decisions about utilizing the fund's resources.

Concern About Waste

In Slovakia almost 90 percent of solid communal waste is dumped without further treatment and with a negative impact on the environment. Therefore, it is necessary to accelerate the draft SNR laws on dealing with waste and secondary raw materials. It is essential to create the necessary mechanisms to interest producers of waste materials and the population in minimizing waste, in separating it, in utilizing it, and in its harmless destruction. Apropos these conclusions, the government also adopted a report on a possible solution to the consequences of polychlorinated biphenyl pollution in the Velky Krtis district where damage for the last two years alone is estimated at approximately 170 million korunas.

Holcik's Proposal for a Shareholding Company

Industry Minister Jan Holcik presented a report to the government on the purchase and preparation of oil as well as a proposal to found a Slovak shareholding company which would conduct business independently and comprehensively in this sphere. Its participants should be Slovnaft, Petrimex, Nafta Gbely, Petrochema Dubova, Benzinol Bratislava, and—following its establishment—the Sahy Oil Pipeline Enterprise.

Exhibition, Supplies, Education

The Slovak Government made note of a report on the preparations for the General Czechoslovak Exhibition 91 and approved a Slovak exhibition committee. It expressed its agreement with the system of life-long education. Finally, it was briefed on the results of the enquiry into supplies for the population and stated that the enquiry organs have not discovered even one instance connected with the speculative hoarding of goods in the wholesale network.

Movement Calls for Referendum on Independence

AU0612153490 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 5 Dec 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Rally by the Movement for Independent Slovakia"]

[Text] The demand that a referendum be called on the independence of the Slovak Republic was raised from the rostrum at a rally staged by the Movement for Independent Slovakia in Bratislava late yesterday afternoon. The assembly of several hundred citizens responded with applause and the chanting of "Down with Prague" to ideas rejecting the concept of an authentic Czechoslovak federation.

Meciar States Slovak Case in Current Disputes

AU0612150090 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 3 Dec 90 pp 1, 2

["Excerpt" of address delivered by Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar on Slovak Television on 2 December: "It Is Impossible To Present Issues in a Crystal Clear Manner"]

[Text] The events of last week are reason enough for us to hold more specific talks on the causes of our current problems.

Gasoline was the first problem. It has been a rule since 1968 that gasoline is purchased from Slovnaft without sales tax. In 1968 it was agreed that a sum equivalent to this tax would be transferred every year to Slovakia. Now, while drawing up the budgets, this agreement has been revoked; a sum of more than 8 billion korunas remains uncovered.

The second contentious issue concerned the location for the production of goods. We supported the view that this concerns the location of the factories and production lines where the goods are produced. The other side was of the opinion that this concerns the location of entrepreneurial management. The Slovak side would be at a considerable disadvantage if this were the case.

Extremely large sums arose in the oil and gas pipeline issue. Both sides had reckoned with a certain sum. When we compared all three budgets we ascertained that each republic had a surplus budget. However, when the income was calculated and it was ascertained that some items are currently contained in the budgets of the Czech and Slovak Republics, the budget was a deficit one.

Similarly, we also had to take into consideration certain facts concerning foreign trade. The majority of Slovak enterprises export their products via foreign trade enterprises in the Czech Republic. This is normal; however, when we put forward the view that the profits should be divided between the national republics in accordance with their share of exports, we could not reach an agreement.

If it has previously been said that the Czech Republic is worse off because of Slovakia and vice versa, then today I do not want to do anything else except bring order and clarity into our accounting relations. This would ensure that they are kept in order, are publicly controlled, and are public knowledge.

After resolving our budget problems—I think correctly—a problem arose in connection with the management and administration of the oil and gas pipelines. This was an absolutely unnecessary problem. The levies from profit are only one part of it. The rest involves the method of management, economic rules, commercial activity, and so on. In Slovakia we have never said that we want to technically divide these pipes. We have never said that we do not want a nationwide dispatching system. We have always, however, maintained that rules which suit the interests of both republics must prevail in management. We want such rules and we will seek them with the Czech Republic.

I suggested to my colleague Mr. Pithart that he entrust his appropriate minister with negotiating with the Slovak minister without Mr. Dlouhy. I believe that both republics will find a solution satisfactory to each side.

In a situation when life's new rules are being created, it is clear that they will bring many conflicts. It is impossible, however, to present issues in a crystal clear manner—such as issues of trust or mistrust in the government—in every conflict. It is unnecessary to place members of one government against members of another government. It is necessary to overcome disputes by holding discussions, by reaching an understanding on ideas, and by respect. It is impossible to proceed from a position of superiority, nationalism, and so on even though the other side sometimes ascribes this to us.

We are very critical about the speech made by Minister Dlouhy. We are not reproaching him for his mistakes concerning the Hydrocracking Plant, the miners, or the conversion of the armaments industry. We understand the level of personal responsibility and the responsibility of the political system. We are not reproaching him for the mistakes of the Federal Government—although it could be reproached for these mistakes—because such methods are alien to us. We will not reduce ourselves to this. On the other hand, however, some leading representatives have to seek another method for negotiating with the Slovak Republic Government. If people think that it is possible to renew the method of negotiation applicable prior to 1989, they are very much mistaken.

Meciar Replies to Hungarian Deputy's Interpellation

AU0712104890 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 5 Dec 90 p 13

[Reply made by Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar to an interpellation by Slovak National Council Deputy Laszlo Dobos reprinted from UJ SZO: "We Need Understanding and Cooperation"]

[Text] "Your interpellation contains several questions and proposals. I am glad that I agree with the majority of them. In my opinion, there are not as many bitter disagreements among ordinary citizens as the press would have us believe. If they do crop up, then they are caused at the top—by, among others, Miklos Duray who enjoys your protection—or, as the case may be, from outside. As far as the wrongdoings committed against Hungarians during the normalization years are concerned, as Slovak prime minister I have to also take the views of Slovaks into consideration; after all, a substantial number of Slovak schools were abolished and so on.

"I am aware of your position in connection with resolving the problem of Slovaks living in the Hungarian Republic. I hope that we will soon reach an agreement with its government on this issue. In the issue of the legalization of the Slovak language I expressed the hope that the final form of the law will be acceptable to both sides. I absolutely disagree with the insinuation that I accused Hungarian citizens of placing their loyalty to their nationality above their loyalty to the state. When we come across such instances, some narrow minded group is always behind them or it is on the initiative of an individual. I was also glad to accept your other arguments on how the Hungarian units were "received" in South Slovakia in 1968 as well as southern Slovaks' points of view about the Trianon issue and so on."

Apropos the Slovak Government's future ethnic policy Mr. Meciar wrote the following: "It will be the same as the one implemented to date by the government of national cooperation. It will struggle against extremist and chauvinistic tendencies on both sides because if we want to live together in this country, we need understanding and cooperation."

Slovak Official on Expected Soviet Refugee Influx

AU0612151990

[Editorial Report] Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 3 December on page three, under the headline "Preparations for the Wave of Immigrants," carries an 800-word interview with Major Imrich Vavacek, deputy chief of the Public Security Corps Main Administration and a member of the Slovak Interior Ministry crisis team, by Anton Fillo. The interview concerns the preparations being made by Slovak authorities to deal with the expected influx of Soviet refugees.

At the beginning of the interview Vavacek states that, in his opinion, it is unnecessary to paint everything "in such dark colors." He maintains that certain factors within the Soviet Union will limit the number of people leaving that country. These factors include the issuing of passports and the prohibitive cost of transportation. Slovak authorities, however, have implemented certain measures to help them cope with the expected influx. According to Vavacek, "at the beginning of October a crisis team was established at the Slovak Interior Ministry headed by Deputy Minister Dr. Jan Michalek. This team will gradually adopt measures and take the necessary steps. We realize that East Slovakia in particular will be the focus of activity, therefore, a working group which will deal operatively with the problems that arise has been set up there under the command of the regional Police Chief Lieutenant Colonel Jozef Rosek." He adds that meetings have also been held with the Soviet authorities at which measures were agreed for the return of "criminal elements". A total of 1,800 border guards will be activated in the border zone and 400 Interior Ministry employees have also been drafted in to deal with this issue.

Vavacek thinks that the Soviet "visitors" can be divided into four groups—tourists, people who will use the CSFR as a transit country, political refugees, and people who will want to remain in the CSFR while applying for an entry visa into a Western country. He also thinks that most of these people will be Jews making their way to Vienna or to Budapest.

In conclusion, Vavacek states that in his opinion "our state will be able—by administrative and legislative measures and laws—to regulate the wave of immigrants and to prevent the country's collapse which is so much feared by our people."

Ministry Issues Statement on E. Europe Minorities

LD0512183790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 5 Dec 90

[Text] We have just now received the statement by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on national minorities in Eastern Europe.

The Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs rejects and condemns every attempt which, making use of the difficulties of other states, makes no attempt to guarantee the individual and collective rights of national minorities through the creation of a legal state. In the statement the Ministry expressed concern that national ethnic tensions have recently become sharper in several countries of Central and Eastern Europe; furthermore, attacks against national minorities are getting stronger, and chauvinistic demands for the alteration of the borders by force are on the increase.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs once again reiterated the unconditional commitment of Hugarian foreign policy to the founding charter of the United Nations and to the basic principles of the Helsinki accord and its intention to continue to work in the future as well toward settling the differences between states by peaceful means through negotiations.

Expresses Concern Over Tensions

LD0612173890 Budapest MTI in English 1623 GMT 6 Dec 90

[Text] Budapest, December 5 (MTI)—In a statement forwarded to the Hungarian news agency MTI on Wednesday, the Hungarian Foreign Ministry underlined the following, among other things:

The Hungarian Foreign Ministry is alarmed to be witnessing an escalation in national and ethnic tensions in a number of central and eastern European states, parallel to the change in regime. The national minorities are falling victim to a steadily increasing number of attacks, while their rights are being gradually eroded. More and more demands are being made, contrary to the Helsinki spirit, for a modification of the existing borders, by force. Meanwhile chauvinistic organizations are breeding like rabbits. These endeavours are particularly worrying, when one considers that they enjoy the tacit or active political support of a number of governments.

The Hungarian Foreign Ministry starts from the premise that equal emphasis should be placed on the enforcement of the rights of the national minorities and the appropriate handling of the human dimension on the one hand, and the military and economic aspects of security on the other.

The Foreign Ministry declares that the Republic of Hungary feels itself responsible for the fate of those Hungarians living beyond its borders. The statement reaffirms that Hungarian foreign policy views the purposes and principles laid down in the UN Charter, the Helsinki Final Act and the documents of the CSCE process as comprehensively and unconditionally binding.

Guaranteeing the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the particular states and the enforcement of human rights and freedoms should not hinder one another. Prevarication particularly on the part of responsible politicians, of the sort that exploits the difficulties of other states, and seeks to guarantee the rights of the national minorities outside the establishment of a state of law, can only be judged as irresponsible policy. The Hungarian Foreign Ministry firmly rejects and condemns all such endeavours.

Hungary would be more at ease if these problems were solved through the creation of democratic conditions, a guarantee of the right of national self-determination, and the full enforcement of the individual and collective rights of the minorities. This would ensure that the states concerned would see their internal tensions eased, and the outbreak of perilous crisis nerve-centres prevented [as received].

The Republic of Hungary will endeavour, as it has done in the past, to settle the disputes between the states through peaceful means and negotiations, the statement runs.

Yugoslav President Markovic Arrives for Talks

LD0712084490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2047 GMT 6 Dec 90

[Text] Budapest, 6 Dec (TANJUG)—Federal Executive Council [FEC] President Ante Markovic arrived in Hungary this evening on a one-day working visit at the invitation from Prime Minister Jozsef Antall, with whom he will have talks on 7 December primarily on economic relations between the two countries, but also on the situation in Europe and regional cooperation between Yugoslavia and Hungary.

Prime Minister Markovic will also meet President Arpad Goncz, National Assembly Speaker Gyorgy Szabad, and representatives of six parliamentary parties. Prime Ministers Markovic and Antall will hold a news conference on the afternoon of 7 December. Prior to his departure from Budapest, the FEC president will have talks with Yugoslav businessmen and minority representatives in Hungary. Prime Minister Markovic is accompanied by Federal Secretary for Trade Nazmi Mustafa and Milivoje Maksic, deputy federal secretary for foreign affairs.

MDF's Kiss on Internal Situation, Prospects

AU0612152390 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 4 Dec 90 p 5

[Interview with MDF Deputy Chairman Csaba Gy. Kiss by Zoltan Lovas; place and date not given: "The Essential Thing Is That the MDF Should Remain Democratic"; first paragraph is MAGYAR HIRLAP introduction]

[Excerpts] With the approach of the national conference next week, there have been increasing debates and discussions within the governing party in recent weeks. Our correspondent asked Csaba Kiss about the internal situation and realistic prospects of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF].

[Lovas] Many people claim that Hungary, the government, and the MDF itself are in crisis today. Do you also share this opinion?

[Kiss] I would like to quote one of the speakers at our regional meeting in Miskolc who said that "if we fail to renew ourselves, the situation of the MDF could become disastrous." I agree with you that the parties in Hungary are in an identity crisis generally, and they do not know what strata and groups of society support them. Nor do they know how to widen their support. A considerable gap has emerged between the party organizations and the leadership in the MDF, and our local organizations ask, and even demand more influence. I would again quote a speaker from the conference in Miskolc: "What will the MDF do if the members abandon the party?" We have neglected the task of organizing the party in the past six months. [passage omitted]

[Lovas] Programs and plans are commendable things, but the people draw their conclusions from the daily political activity; furthermore, the middle strata of society—which made up the basis of the MDF—have turned away from you.

[Kiss] Any other governing party would have faced this problem. The difficult economic situation makes everyone much more critical of the government. Indeed, in its social program, the MDF would have preferred to base itself primarily on the widening middle strata of society, in the sense that an increasing number of lower-echelon people should have a chance to make it to the top. The government has also made a lot of indecisive decisions in the past six months. Our members and sympathizers primarily judge the MDF on the basis of the government activity. Our government's style has not always been adequate, and an attitude of "viewing things from above" has really emerged lately. People do not like this. Economic policy decisions have failed to materialize, and the people do not feel that the government has a specific economic policy guideline expressed in concrete steps. [passage omitted]

[Lovas] What if the country, the government, and the MDF continue to destabilize?

[Kiss] After the national conference, the new presidium will have to think very seriously about these issues. We will be able to face the problems only if we call those responsible for the past period by name. In connection with this, I witnessed a double attitude within the MDF in recent weeks. On one side, there is great demand to openly name those responsible for the problems. On the other hand, the reflex of trying to sweep the problems under the carpet is still alive. If the MDF sweeps the problems under the carpet at the national conference to be held in December, I will be pessimistic about the future chances of this party. [passage omitted]

[Lovas] Will the MDF be able to reorganize and consolidate itself enough to withstand the shocks awaiting the country?

[Kiss] The MDF members expect everything from the government, and the government is now facing tough decisions. I also regard the situation as very difficult. The government must formulate clear economic steps, and the public should be informed about the real weight of the problems. A political decision should govern the ways in which such heavy burdens are distributed in the Hungarian society. If Hungary slips into a situation in which it can no longer be governed, this could lead to a dangerous situation, because extremist forces could emerge, forces that could become very attractive in times of increased social tensions. All this should be thoroughly analyzed. One of the mistakes of the MDF in recent months was that it did not separate its real activity of analysis. No proper advisory circles have emerged, circles which would analyze things out of their free way of thinking, rather than out of a desire to make a career....

SZDSZ Calls Current Situation 'Crisis'

LD0612172490 Budapest MTI in English 1627 GMT 6 Dec 90

[Text] Budapest, December 5 (MTI)—The Alliance of Free Democrats (AFD) [SZDSZ] cannot wholeheartedly support the government in office, AFD president [Janos Kis] told a news conference on Wednesday.

Justifying his statement, Kis said the government invariably lacked a programme for crisis management, and the government officials adopted contradictory economic policy programmes. Kis noted with regret that the prime minister, addressing parliament on Tuesday, had not taken a stand on the debate dividing the economic cabinet ministers. Kis added that the prime minister was yet to reveal the grounds for his forecast of a potential boom in the Hungarian economy from 1992 onwards.

Kis said the AFD delegates' session agreed last weekend that a crisis had overtaken the country's government. He added, however, that the AFD did not have in mind the toppling of the government overnight, all the more so because the constitutional or political conditions for this did not exist.

Academy of Sciences Official on Financial Problems

AU0712095590 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 4 Dec 90 p 5

[Interview with Istvan Lang, general secretary of the Academy of Sciences, by Miklos Bonta; place and date not given: "Is the Academy Uncompetitive?"; first two paragraphs are NEPSZAVA introduction]

[Text] The Hungarian Academy of Sciences is in a difficult position. Hungary does not yet have a budget, but the scientists should decide on the Academy's budget for the next year at the extraordinary meeting of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences that began yesterday, 3 December. The academicians could make use of their statute's rights for the first time—namely, to approve the Academy's budget at the general meeting. Because there is not a national budget, however, the academicians are unable to fulfill this task.

We asked Istvan Lang about their financial possibilities.

[Lang] Everything that we know today about our budget for next year is not very favorable. It seems that our current investment and operation budget of about 4 billion forints will slightly increase by almost 1 billion forints. This will not even cover the expected inflation; it will be enough to survive, but not to maintain our competitiveness.

[Bonta] Settling the wages of the workers employed by the various institutes of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences has been on the agenda for years. Their wages dropped by at least 50 percent in value. What can the almost 8,000 employees expect next year?

[Lang] The drop in the value of our wages is considerable, indeed. The current proposal of the Finance Ministry stipulates a 20 percent increase in the wages of our personnel, and a 30 percent increase in the wages of researchers. The drop in the wages of research personnel and assistants at the various universities is all the more conspicuous because the wages of employees of higher education is 40 percent more that the wages of people in the academician status, people who carry out the same activity. We plan to carry out a 40 percent increase in their wages. I will ask the general meeting to contribute to the necessary regrouping of wage funds.

[Bonta] What about the academicians' wages?

[Lang] If this is more favorable for them, the regular Academy members will receive the prevailing ministerial wages, and the corresponding members of the Academy will receive wages equivalent to that of deputy state secretaries. According to the plans, the ministerial wages will not change in 1991, and so, our academicians will also have to make do with their current wages.

[Bonta] It is almost impossible to differentiate wages when you only have little money. Nevertheless, I will ask you whether there will be any differences in wages at individual research institutes?

[Lang] I am in favor of such differentiation. I intend to make use of some two percent of the wage funds for this purpose. I want to hold preliminary consultations about this with all the relevant trade unions.

[Bonta] Reduction of personnel could be one means of managing the wage funds. Can we expect any reduction in personnel and a distribution of their wages among various institutes of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences?

[Lang] We do not plan any drastic reduction in personnel. At the same time, I must say that 1991 will be the year of evaluating the previous research period. Consistent selection, on the basis of the work carried out, is an internal rule of scientific activity. Young graduates must be given the chance to start a scientific career, but one who is unable to fulfill the requirement of the age has no place here, just as a poor sportsman has no place on the competition field. The performance evaluation is accompanied by the drawing of conclusions.

[Bonta] To what extent can older researchers feel secure?

[Lang] It is customary for scientists to be employed until they are 65, and academicians to be employed until they are 70; furthermore, we do not intend to change this next year, either. (Inflation is less destructive with wages than with pensions.) This practice also leads to problems, of course, because new graduates come to us later.

[Bonta] In conclusion, allow me to ask you a different question. The extraordinary general meeting will restore the correspondent membership of two scientists: Barna Gyorffy (posthumously), and Pal Csonka. The previous government did not allow the general meeting to elect these people, despite the legal preparations. Do you regard it as impossible that, in future, someone will be elected as academician for his services to the government, rather than for his scientific services?

[Lang] There is no absolute guarantee for this! Such subjective judgment can always happen. We must reduce the possibility of such mistakes to a minimum, by fully including the public. We will do our utmost to make sure that political interests remain outside the Academy of Sciences.

Military Rocket Unit To Be Dismantled

LD0512165690 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1600 GMT 5 Dec 90

[Text] The demobilization of the rocket unit of the Hungarian military in line with the previously announced decision, will mean an annual savings of 100 million forints for the Hungarian budget.

Ambassador Andre Erdoes talked about this at the UN assembly session. He added that with the winding up of the rocket unit, 27 rocket-launching stations and 131 rockets of various types will be destroyed by next spring. The unilateral decision of the Hungarian Government will affect 3,200 people within the military.

Walesa Addresses U.S. Radio Audience From Gdansk

LD0612225590 Warsaw PAP in English 2211 GMT 6 Dec 90

[Text] Gdansk, Dec. 6—Lech Walesa talked with listeners of Polish radio stations in the United States for more than an hour from the studio in Gdansk today. He was asked questions by Poles living in Chicago, Detroit, and Philadelphia.

Walesa confirmed once again he was not intending to reject the main elements of the Balcerowicz Plan. "The direction, the building of a market economy is right," he said "but the march to it must be different. Maybe longer but safer."

While supporting a quick and nationwide privatization, Walesa described it as the enfranchisement of the Polish nation. This process will also help solve the problems of cooperation with foreign capital. "Encouragement will not come from me, but from economy, the conditions that will develop in Poland, the initiative of private businessmen wishing to cooperate with the west and the Polonians. There is an excellent business to be done in Poland."

Asked about the Polish unemployment, Walesa reiterated his thesis that Poland could afford it.

"I will not be like an overzealous gendarme," Walesa replied to the question about taking into account all former prominent personalities and the nomenklatura, "because I want to build Poland on agreement, in tune with the law. Of course we shall clear the bills with the past to avoid mistakes in future," Walesa stressed, "but with no witchhunt and with no collective responsibility."

When criticized for being overcritical with Mazowiecki's government which, the Polish-American listeners believe, boosted the electoral performance of Tyminski, Walesa pointed to the fact that every government in a post-communist society would be exposed to sharp criticism. "The government had its chance but also enormous difficulties," he said.

Walesa described his idea of presidency as "'synchronizing' the nation, the government, and the parliament. I am supposed to be the tuner of good contacts and the specific programme, which after the elections will be a parliamentary compromise, will be designed by the prime minister."

He also said that apart from the five candidates for prime minister he also had considered three various cabinets to choose according to the situation after elections.

Asked about anti-Semitism, Walesa admitted having made two clumsy statements which were used against him. "You cannot say that blaming single individual politicians is anti-Semitism. There is no anti-Semitism in Poland."

Walesa also announced he would quickly eliminate Polish entry visas to freely admit citizens of all world countries.

Commenting on the postulate to reconstruct the unity of Solidarity, Walesa pointed out that it was the progressing division threatening the reforms which pushed him to "change place" and centralize the Polish reforms without interfering with democratic processes.

Bartoszcze Expresses Support for Walesa

LD0612165190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1515 GMT 6 Dec 90

[Text] Support in the faith that Lech Walesa will be the continuation of the process of reforms in accordance with the expectations of Poles, was expressed today in a statement for radio and television by Roman Bartoszcze, chairman of the Polish Peasants' Party [PSL]. He asked PSL members and supporters to cast their votes for Lech Walesa on 9 December.

Confederation Decides To Back Walesa Campaign

LD0612171390 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1515 GMT 6 Dec 90

[Statement by Leszek Moczulski, chairman of the Confederation for an Independent Poland, on 6 December; place not given—recorded]

[Text] I stated many times throughout the election campaign that the most important thing is not the choice of person but of program, giving Poland the chance to break away from the abyss.

Unfortunately, neither of the candidates competing in the second round has presented such a program. In this situation, we are just left with the choice of a person.

After mature reflection, I personally, and the Confederation for an Independent Poland Political Council have decided to support Lech Walesa.

I would like separately to turn to all those who voted, or intend to vote, for Stanislaw Tyminski, either by conscious political choice, that they remain at home. [sentence as heard]

Tyminski Cited on 'Dirt' in Election Campaign

LD0512234990 Warsaw PAP in English 2221 GMT 5 Dec 90

[Text] Walbrzych, Dec. 5—Six thousand people came to meet presidential candidate Stanislaw Tyminski at the local sports hall here today.

Tyminski received high support in the region during the first election round and was only a little behind Lech Walesa. The meeting was therefore expected to bring an exchange of opinions but, like in other places, this time it was full of booing, whistling, and shouting. The audience divided into two camps and chanted "Solidarity," "Lech Walesa," and "Go back to Peru," while Tyminski's supporters shouted "Down with Walesa."

Three times more people were let into the hall than it can accomodate which caused the risk of unpredictable consequences.

The electoral campaign has acquired a worrisome shape, Tyminski said. The lack of a political culture predominates. The mass media everyday casts slanders, invectives, allegations, and lies on me in trying to denigrate me in the eyes of my electorate. There is too much dirt in this campaign, too many personal attacks. The TV has now concentrated on my wife. For that the TV should three times say "mea culpa." The whole thing should be taken to court. Mr. Walesa especially is treating me not as a rival who should be defeated through reasonable argument. I think I shall have an opportunity to show who is right during the public debate with Mr. Walesa.

Tyminski To Show Documents Discrediting Walesa

LD0712064990 Warsaw PAP in English 2303 GMT 6 Dec 90

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 6—About 100 Polish and foreign journalists arrived at Stanislaw Tyminski's electoral staff headquarters here today to take part in a press conference to be held here. Representatives of the electoral staff assured journalists several times that Mr. Tyminski would come in fifteen minutes. They entertained waiting journalists telling them about who they were and where they worked. They assured newsmen that none of them had anything in common with security services. Press spokeswoman of the electoral office Malgorzata Dobrowolska said that she had worked in a press agency in Wroclaw before and that she used to write articles for an underground newspaper for several years.

Secretary of the electoral staff Krzysztof Pawlisz said that he was a lawyer and took leave from a state job for the duration of the campaign. Asked how much they earned during the campaign, members of the staff answered that they would know this when the campaign is over.

Stanislaw Tyminski resisted the hail of questions interrogating him about his mystery black briefcase supposedly packed with documents discrediting Walesa and refused to open it before the journalists. He said he had plenty of documents and every day at least 20 people offer more but he will rather not disclose them for the good of Poland. Under continued pressure Tyminski eventually promised to show the documents tomorrow in Szczecin. He called this a final political decision and proceeded to denying the reliability of the latest opinion poll survey which said the chances are 60-20 in Walesa's favour. "This is not true," he said. "The true surveys prove that our chances are 50-50 but some of my supporters have not emerged yet." Tyminski explained. Next, Tyminski offered two cheques for 5,000 dollars each to the University of Warsaw's Latin American Studies Department, so as the Polish students can go to Peru. The other cheque to support Polonian studies at the Jagiellonian University in Krakow.

Later during the conference Tyminski opened his briefcase and produced a copy of the Newsweek magazine with the following comment: "Here is clear information about the coup d'etat, introduction of dictatorship, and totalitarian system by Lech Walesa. Mr. Walesa says that if he fails in the election, he will make a civil war in Poland. This issue of Newsweek is the most important document I have seen during this campaign."

Sociologist Interviewed on Tyminski Success

AU0612125590 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 3 Dec 90 pp 1, 2

[Interview with sociologist Krzysztof Jasiewicz by Ewa Szemplinska; place and date not given: "An Outsider"]

[Text] [Szemplinska] Not much time has elapsed since our last interview, but times have changed. At least, the myth about society's careful discrimination and national solidarity has collapsed. As a sociologist and person engaged in election public opinion polls, what can you say about the phenomenal popularity of a man who only gained 463 votes in his native Toronto, against 2,134 votes for Tadeusz Mazowiecki and 2,087 for Lech Walesa? What can you say about his voters?

[Jasiewicz] These voters are guided by several very clear motives, the strongest of which seems to be a protest against any type of establishment [preceding word in English]. All the other candidates come from the structure of authority stretching from the government, via "Solidarity," right up to parliament and the political parties. Only one candidate is outside this structure. Moreover, he has promised that as a politician free of any previous affiliations, he will govern independently and will not support any of the elites that have existed until now.

[Szemplinska] This "clean slate" is doubly false. First, Stan Tyminski is backed by the nomenklatura and former Security Service. Second, one cannot govern without the support of an elite, though of course this need not be a "Solidarity" elite, but one that is removed from power.

[Jasiewicz] That is true, of course, but people only hear what they want and expect to hear, and mistrust in the authorities is an understandable tradition in Poland. Second, Tyminski's televised news conference has shown who he is dealing with, but the question is: How many people will recognize his election staff for what they really are? These are not people from the old "front ranks." If Albin Siwak [a former Polish United Workers Party Politburo member] were in Tyminski's immediate entourage (by the way, Tyminski reminds one of Siwak by the things he says, only Tyminski's remarks are contained in better, Western packaging), perhaps a warning light would be illuminated in people's minds.

[Szemplinska] In the meantime, Tyminski is promising imported miracles.

[Jasiewicz] And that is another motivation for voting for him, something I would call the Polish dream of America, the life's ambition of many Poles, involving leaving Poland, making money, and coming back rich.

[Szemplinska] Do you not think a major reason for Tyminski's success is the myth about money lying in the streets of the Western Hemisphere?

[Jasiewicz] That is not important because anyone who leaves Poland believes he will succeed, and if he succeeds, usually at the cost of hard work, he will come back richer than he was, richer than his neighbor.

[Szemplinska] So Tyminski is earning points on account of people's naivete.

[Jasiewicz] Some of them are naive at any rate. However, he is also winning the votes of the anti-"Solidarity" electorate (not necessarily people who used to belong to the Polish United Workers Party), people who think "Solidarity" has always been an uncertain, destabilizing force. These are the kind of people whom Marx once described as a "party of order."

[Szemplinska] Order and normality?

[Jasiewicz] Yes. But these people need not be opponents of the Mazowiecki government at all. They can merely believe that they themselves can do what this government has done, only more quickly and cleanly. It is significant that in the voivodships of Pila and Leszno, where "Solidarity" received the least number of votes in the 1989 election, Tyminski beat Walesa and Mazowiecki's votes exceeded his national average. Also, Tyminski has employed rhetoric that was typical martial law propaganda and repeated the same kind of accusations, so his words have fallen on fertile ground.

There is also a sizable group of people belonging to the new anti-"Solidarity" movement who have lost hope and are fearful of the future because of, for example, the privatization of enterprises. This group also contains young people for whom "Solidarity" is a piece of history no different than World War II, disaffected miners, and opponents of religion in school, opponents of abortion, etc. Theirs was a vote of protest against "Solidarity" and the government that stems from the "Solidarity" tradition.

[Szemplinska] Let us turn to the first round of the elections. Lech Walesa's support was stable, Mazowiecki's was declining, Tyminski's was growing. Following Tyminski's particularly drastic statements in Zakopane, every single survey noted a drop in his popularity. And yet he got through to the second round.

[Jasiewicz] We do not know and we will never know if the temporary disruption in Tyminski's rising popularity was the result of excessively harsh accusations by the government or a normal vacillation of public opinion. I, however, wish to make it very clear that the negative press campaign immediately before the election influenced the election result. It is a scandal that no one showed any interest in Tyminski immediately after he had been registered and that a "free election campaign" spread its wings shortly before the election. One could have foreseen that the press attacks on Tyminski would strengthen his position. A second feature is the opinion polls. In the beginning, Tyminski was ignored not only by the press and politicians, but also by the public. As soon as the opinion polls revealed a slight increase in his support, he suddenly became interesting. The more supporters he received, the more convinced those who were previously unsure about him became.

[Szemplinska] Do you have anything to say about the way in which Tyminski's election campaign has been run?

[Jasiewicz] In some respects, it has been run according to the best Western patterns, for instance the way in which Tyminski seized and concentrated on one topic—criticism of the government's economic policy—and discussed what society views as problems. He said that as a businessman, he knows how to overcome problems, and that is what people wanted to hear. Apart from that, I noticed a certain television producer's skill inherent in his television campaign—the use of so-called gray people who support him blindly.

[Szemplinska] I remember such gray people, mainly gray seamstresses and metalworkers, who condemned the strikeleaders of Radom, Ursus, and Gdansk.

[Jasiewicz] First, everything was done much more delicately and discreetly this time. Second, one must always remember what habits are embedded in the people one is addressing. But of course, this campaign has been full of mistakes.

[Szemplinska] Mainly Tyminski.

[Jasiewicz] Yes, in a literal and figurative sense, because this is a man who is out of touch. He is stiff, incapable of speaking properly, monotonous, and evasive when giving replies. To the Western mind, he is a television nonperson.

[Szemplinska] What if he wins?

[Jasiewicz] That would be the worst possible scenario. Let us assume that what he says is said in good faith. But if he admits that he does not know Poland, that means there have to be people who will help him choose a prime minister, ministers, voivodes, ambassadors, etc. Neither the present governing elite nor "Solidarity" will help him, so all that is left is the old nomenklatura, therefore Tyminski would have to rely on the nomenklatura because one cannot rule in a vacuum. That would cause a dire disappointment for his electorate. Far worse than that, it would also be a blow to democracy, for there would be general disappointment with all democratic structures.

[Szemplinska] Do you not think that Mazowiecki was the greatest threat to the nomenklatura with his constant talk of building a law-governed state?

[Jasiewicz] Yes, because nomenklatura people are more likely to survive a once only "settlement of scores" with the old regime than a permanent subjugation to the law.

Interior Ministry Not To Vet Candidates

LD0612190490 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 6 Dec 90

[Text] Minister of Internal Affairs Krzysztof Kozlowski has said that the vetting by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, on its own initiative, of the candidates for president would be an entry onto a mortally dangerous road for the ministry. He added that the ministry has no right to undertake such activity without the prior instruction of the prosecutor general.

Union Registers Conservative-Liberal Party

LD0612191690 Warsaw PAP in English 1754 GMT 6 Dec 90

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 6—Poland's Union of Real Politics registered themselves today as the Conservative-Liberal Party. Among the 24 founding members are: Stefan Kisielewski, Janusz Korwin-Mikke, Wojciech Merklejn, Stanislaw Michalkiewicz and Professor Dr. Andrzej Stankiewicz.

Kozlowski Holds News Conference on Martial Law

LD0612234190 Warsaw PAP in English 2107 GMT 6 Dec 90

[Jan Rozdzynski report]

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 6—Martial law had in fact been prepared much earlier than it was claimed to have been prepared by Generals Jaruzelski and Kiszczak, who spoke of a "dramatic and urgent decision", said Polish Minister for Internal Affairs Krzysztof Kozlowski at today's press conference here.

From the very beginning a scenario for "iron-fist" dealing with the opposition was held standing by, said Koslowski.

His opinion was borne out at the conference by Jan Wegrzyn, the spokesman for a committee which is investigating the documents pertaining to martial law unearthed at the Interior Ministry, and by Interior Vice-Minister Jan Widacki.

The committee has been made up of civilian employees of the Interior Ministry who entered employment therein a few months ago.

While combing for martial law evidence, the committee has found out that some of the documents dealing with November and December 1981 preparations had been destroyed.

Those that have been revealed at the Interior Ministry concern daily reports on the situation in particular regions of Poland starting with the outbreak of August 1980 strikes at the Gdansk shipyard, reports on a "Summer 80" operation from local provincial internal affairs bureaus as well as decrees and decisions of the "Summer 80" operation staff set up at the ministry.

The staff had been founded with an order of the then Interior Minister Kowalczyk on August 16, 1980. It comprised top Interior Ministry generals and colonels headed by General Boguslaw Stachura.

Working first in four teams and then in five, the staff masterminded political and operational projects of Interior Ministry departments, the securing of Material supplies and technical equipment, and—at a later stage—protection of state administration and public buildings as well as of the families of Interior Ministry functionaries and party officials.

Parallel to setting up the staff, the then minister for internal affairs decided to employ "safety measures in the event of actions by anti-socialist groups".

Practically, a most important task under the detailed lists of duties each of the ministry departments had been provided with was to constantly maintain an enhanced state of readiness, to carry out in-depth surveillance of opposition environs and to prepare means of combatting them.

As early as August 1980, one of the first decisions of the "Summer 80" staff was to concentrate police forces in the Gdansk province, including detachments armed with chemical weapons, and to prepare an official order for a forceful dealing with the conflict at the shipyard, then on strike.

The plans provided for such contingencies as a commando raid on the shipyard, seizure of Lech Walesa and other strike committee members, pacification of Gdansk region factories on strike at the time, comprehensive roadblocking and the life.

Such tactics were a detailed follow-up of the so-called overall Interior Ministry action plan prepared earlier (March 1979) in case of emergency situations, massive protest actions, etc.

On signing the famous Szczecin, Gdansk and Jastrzebie agreements of August 1980, the "Summer 80" staff neither ceased operation nor disbanded themselves but continued to carry out intelligence and surveillance operations, one of the objectives of which was for secret police officers or collaborators to infiltrate the newly-formed organizations and authorities of the Solidarity trade union.

Owing to the activities of the staff, for example, between the strikes of August 1980 and December 13, 1981, only twenty days were free for regular police forces, riot police and the like of extraordinary alert conditions, cancelled leaves, field billeting of particular units, etc.

It bore undoubtedly a negative influence upon the morale of Interior Ministry officers and the sense of threat with which they were indoctrinated when they were "politically" worked upon.

The people meant to be interned were first blacklisted in the first months of Solidarity's existence (October 28, 1980). The list included a hundred names with that of Lech Walesa occupying the prominent first place.

Hard work was contributed to supplementing and revising the list in the weeks and months which followed.

The possibility of introducing martial law—according to the documents quoted—was considered as early as December 22, 1980, when the staff submitted a situational report to Poland's supreme party and state authorities.

Having received approval from the said authorities, Interior Ministry activities starting from January 1981 focussed practically upon preparations for the introduction of martial law, particularly in terms of legal aspects and logistics.

For instance, the "Trapeze" operation served to design a protection system for state administration buildings and the families of Interior Ministry officers and Communist Party officials should martial law be declared.

Operation "Fir-Tree" was aimed at selecting people to be interned (5 thousand people had been selected and 4.2 thousand of them were interned within the first three days of martial law).

The objective of operation "Maple-Tree" was to hold talks with people conducting "activities harmful to the state". They were offered collaboration, signing a declaration of loyalty, and if or when they refused the secret police officers in charge of their cases applied to their superiors to have them interned. Some 13 or 14 thousand people qualified for talks of this kind.

Operation "Mallow" was intended to take hold of the country's communications, including the neutralization of 320 communications facilities in the event of martial law's introduction.

A special "ramses" operation dealt with radio and television and provided for organizing the protection of 121 facilities, setting up a backup TV transmission centre, training journalist and technician crews drawn up from among secret police officers and preparing a redundancy evaluation procedure for radio and television employees.

Some 2 thousand persons out of the 7.5 thousand employees were permitted to work there during martial law.

As it was emphasized in the course of the press conference, the Interior Ministry carried out martial law preparations in collusion with the Defence Ministry (special Interior Ministry operational groups were formed at the Polish Army General Staff), the Justice Ministry (preparing prisons to receive those to be interned), the Communications Ministry and other government bodies.

Under operation "Pasque-Flower", legal acts, orders and other documents concerning the introduction of martial law were prepared, distributed throughout particular provinces and secured in June 1981.

On October 25, 1981, the "Summer 80" staff submitted to Communist Party leaders and to state authorities a document in which they unequivocally pointed to the need to "undertake extraordinary measures" since "the influence of the party and the government is not being consolidated".

As Wegrzyn said, the materials the committee had studied lacked any data testifying to foreign states' interference with Polish affairs or to the existence of a threat of military intervention by Warsaw Pact states.

Kozlowski said that basically the secret police infiltration of top Solidarity leadership had not worked out, not even on the regional level.

Even if someone collaborated with the police, it must have been a tiny percentage of low-level activists, assured the minister.

RE: Stanislaw Tyminski

Asked several times about the presidential campaign of Stanislaw Tyninski, Interior Minister Kozlowski said it was a fact that the candidate was drawing support in his campaign from embittered people who saw no better prospects for themselves.

A particularly frustrated group included officers who had been made redundant in the Interior Ministry.

It is not surprising that they "clung to" Tyminski's electoral staffs. This, however, does not imply that a "secret structure" has been established, said Kozlowski.

Kozlowski also supplied information on computer printouts confirming that Tfyminski had visited Poland in the eighties on seven occasions arriving via Tripollis [as received].

So far, said Minister Kozlowski, the attorney general has issued no order to have proceedings initiated against Stanislaw Tymsinski (for his having insulted the prime minister and other state authorities), and consequently, the Ministry for Internal Affairs is carrying out no investigation of Tyminski.

RE: Romanians and Bulgarians in Poland

The conference was informed that following the firmer measures adopted by the Polish authorities with respect to Romanian nationals visiting Poland, over 600 people were turned back from the Polish border out of some 5,300s attempting to enter Poland on December 1 and 2, about a hundred were stopped out of over 800 on December 3, while over 250 Romanians out of nearly a thousand were not granted entry on December 4.

Data show the number of Bulgarians arriving in Poland to be increasing. Some 400 of them are entering Poland daily.

Jaruzelski Speaks on Retiring From Army

LD0612225690 Warsaw PAP in English 2151 GMT 6 Dec 90

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 6—"For over 47 years I have taken pride in wearing a Polish Army uniform," said supreme commander of the Polish Armed Forces General Wojciech Jaruzelski at a ceremony marking his retirement from the Army here today.

Next, in the course of a session of the Ministry of Defence Military Council, over which Jaruzelski has presided for many years, Polish National Defence Minister Vice Admiral Piotr Kolodziejczyk thanked the supreme commander of the armed forces for his significant and fruitful personal contribution to the development of the Polish Army.

Kolodziejczyk assured the council that the rebuilding of Polish Armed Forces into a truly modern national army would be continued.

Addressing the council, General Jaruzelski said, in part:

"Having faith in the values that were a beacon at that time, I tried to serve Poland. I carried out difficult duties, duties that sometimes were beyond endurance. It so happened that I was confused occasionally but I think I have managed not to get lost."

"As far as I could and as far as it was possible I tried to contribute towards an evolutionary transition into an era of transformations and privatization, a shockless transition free of army assistance," Jaruzelski said.

"Today, the stability of the Army is going to provide valuable support and an unfailing safeguard of the existence of the independent state in view of the difficult challenges our country is facing, in view of our building a better future," he went on.

Jaruzelski then said that as he had stressed several times before he was personally responsible for all that could be considered wrong or reprimandable.

"My conscience rests untroubled," he said, "and history will tell whether I have had a right to feel this way."

Jaruzelski, Walesa Meet Secretary Cheney

LD0512234490 Warsaw PAP in English 2122 GMT 5 Dec 90

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 5—U.S. Secretary of Defense Richard Cheney told journalists today that his visit to Poland was short but very useful for him.

Cheney said he had an occasion to meet the representatives of the government, the Sejm and Senate and he highly assessed talks with them. The relations between Poland and the U.S. are very important and his visit to Poland, the first one, was aimed at developing and deepening these relations, particularly between the ministries of defense Cheney said.

The U.S. secretary of defense stressed the interest of his Polish interlocutors in further involvement of the United States in the European issues, particularly in the matters pertaining to security on the continent.

He stressed the importance of the presence of U.S. troops in Europe at the level defined during the Vienna talks. This does not mean the deployment of U.S. troops in Poland but necessary are mutual visits and common training programmes. The inclusion of Poland in the international military education training was also discussed, Cheney said.

The U.S. secretary of defense said there were no concrete talks on the purchases by Poland of the U.S. weapons. However, discussed were possibilities to alleviate, in case of some countries including Poland, the still binding restrictions on the access to technologies which can be applied for military purposes, Cheney said.

Poland's president, Chief of the Armed Forces Wojciech Jaruzelski received at the Belvedere Palace today U.S. Secretary of Defense Richard Cheney. Jaruzelski and Cheney presented views of their states on defensive systems of their countries in the context of decisions of the recent CSCE summit, on the political and military situation in the world, and particularly in the Middle East, as well as on the transformations in the East-West relations.

Minister of National Defense Vice-Admiral Piotr Kolodziejczyk took part in the meeting. Present was Ambassador of the United States to Poland Thomas Simons.

Also today the U.S. defense secretary met with Lech Walesa in Gdansk. They discussed the political situation in Europe and the role of the United States in the process of democratization and the restoration of human rights as well as prospects for the Polish-American cooperation, says a communique of Walesa's press office.

The meeting was closed to newsmen and both politicians declined to comment on it after the talks, but Walesa's press office announced that Cheney had appraised the reforms carried on in Poland and postulated that more encouraging conditions for the inflow of foreign capital should be created.

The U.S. defense secretary stated that the United States is interested in military cooperation with Poland.

Walesa said: I would like the reforms initiated in our country to serve the world and to pose no threats. The U.S. has a very significant role to play in maintaining the world peace and should join more actively in the process of reforms in the post-communist countries. (It should) initiate a kind of a new Marshall plan.

While in Gdansk, Richard Cheney, who was a guest of the navy, laid flowers at the monument of the fallen shipyard workers.

In the evening the U.S. defense secretary flew off to Belgium.

Spokesman Says No Decision on U.S. F-16s

LD0512233190 Warsaw PAP in English 2131 GMT 5 Dec 90

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 5—A report on Poland's alleged decision to buy a certain number of the F-16 planes in the U.S. is untrue, press spokesman for the National Defence Ministry Lieut.-Col. Ireneusz Czyzewski told PAP.

It is true that we take interest in modern military equipment, examine various possibilities to make possible purchases in the future but we have not made any decisions on this question, all the more so on the F-16 planes.

Foreign Ministry Supports U.S. Initiative in Gulf

AU0612173390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1633 GMT 6 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 6/12/1990—Romania's vote in favor of the Security Council's latest resolution (678) on the settlement of the gulf crisis is a natural continuation of the principled and consistent stand our country had adopted in connection with that crisis in full agreement with new democratic Romania's firm adherence to the international law principles and norms, to the UN Charter, stated on Thursday the Foreign Ministry spokesman during his usual weekly press conference. The significance of Romania's vote was unequivocally emphasized by the address Romanian minister of foreign affairs, Adrian Nastase, had made to the Council's meeting.

The Romanian minister, the spokesman said, proposed that the UN secretary-general, the Security Council and all the other states intensify their demarches for finding such a solution. To this end, we welcome the American initiative concerning the beginning of a direct dialogue with Iraq and we express our hope that it would lead to a political settlement in keeping with international law and the Security Council resolutions.

We also welcome the diplomatic actions proposed by the common market, by the French foreign minister, by Egypt, Syria and Saudi Arabia, as well as the continuation of the Soviet Union's diplomatic demarches. Our government intends in Romania's capacity as member of the Security Council and in keeping with its possibilities to contribute to the current international efforts for a peaceful settlement in the gulf.

We are convinced that the political implementation of the international resolutions concerning the gulf crisis may increase credibility and efficiency of the activity of international fora, of the United Nations organization in particular, which are called upon to defend international peace and security, to start new political demarches for the peaceful settlement of all the other conflicts in that area.

Citizens Start Returning From Iraq 5 Dec

AU0612214890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2111 GMT 6 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 6/12/1990—In accordance with the understandings covenanted with the Baghdad authorities the last 291 Romanian experts started returning home from Iraq this week.

On Wednesday [5 December] a first group crossed the border between Iraq and Turkey heading for Romania, and today another 100 person group is to arrive in Turkey.

Foreign Minister To Visit Greece 9-11 Dec

AU0612202690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1826 GMT 6 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 6/12/1990—Over December 9-11, 1990, Mr. Adrian Nastase, Romanian minister of foreign affairs, will pay an official friendship visit to the Hellenic Republic at the invitation of that country's minister of foreign affairs, Andoinis Samares.

During the talks to be held on the occasion, the two ministers will analyze the current stage of the relations of friendship and collaboration between the two countries and peoples as well as of the prospects of the Romanian-Hellenic collaboration in all fields of mutual interest. Opinions will be exchanged on the current international issues cooperation and security in Europe in keeping with what had been convened at the CSCE meeting in Paris, the Gulf situation, the regional collaboration, stress being laid on the Balkan region, and others.

The two ministers will also exchange information on the political and social-economic situation in Romania and the Hellenic Republic.

Interior Minister Ursu Pays Visit to Spain

AU0512210390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1912 GMT 5 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 5/12/1990—The Romanian minister of the interior, Doru Viorel Ursu, made an official visit to Spain at the invitation of his Spanish counterpart, Jose Luis Corcuera. At the end of the visit the Romanian minister told a ROMPRES representative that he had had a fruitful exchange with the Spanish relevant institutions.

My visit to Spain, the minister added, has in my opinion contributed to the continuous improvement of the structures and of the whole activity of our ministry. We agreed that a delegation of Spanish technicians come to Romania soon in order to continues the collaboration between our ministries. I have also extended an invitation to the Spanish minister of the interior to pay an official visit to Romania.

Swiss Foreign Affairs Official's Visit Viewed

AU0612202590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1934 GMT 6 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 6/12/1990—At the invitation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ambassador Guy Ducrey, head of the Political Secretariat of Switzerland's Federal Department of Foreign Affairs, and Mr. Peter Maurer, diplomatic assistant at the same department, paid a visit to Bucharest over December 3-6, 1990.

On the occasion the representatives of Romania's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and of Switzerland's Federal Department of Foreign Affairs held consultations on the bilateral relations, the collaboration between the two ministries within international organizations and bodies, as well as on major world issues. The guests were received by Mr. Romulus Neagu, secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, member of the government.

The Swiss delegation also held talks with members of Romania's Parliament and with other representatives of the Romanian political life.

During the talks the two sides' wish was expressed to develop the Romanian-Swiss traditional relations in the political, economic, cultural and humanitarian fields. It was clear Switzerland's availability to grant support and assistance to the democratic process in Romania, to the privatisation of the Romanian economy and to the speeding-up of Romania's transition to market economy.

On December 6, Ambassador Guy Ducrey presented the paper "Switzerland and Europe's New Political Architecture" at the headquarters of Romania's Association of International Law and International Relations.

Austrian Parliamentary Delegation Pays Visit

AU0612222190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2139 GMT 6 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 6/12/1990—On Thursday successive talks were held at the Romanian Senate's Headquarters between members of the Commission for Drafting Romania's Constitution, of the Commission for Inquiring Into the June 13-15 Events in Bucharest and the delegation of the Austrian National Council made up of Deputies Wendelin Ettmayer and Robert Elmeker and Austria's ambassador to Bucharest.

The guests asked about the stage of the drafting of Romania's new Constitution, about certain aspects concerning the observance of human rights and freedoms in the future basic act of our country. They were explained that democratic Romania's future constitution would be an original, Romanian one.

The Austrian parliamentarians asked questions about the June 13-15 events in Bucharest, about the conclusions reached by the Parliamentary Commission inquiring into the causes and forces involved in those events. The guests were informed that, on the basis of the rich documentary material obtained, the commission would elaborate its report in near future which would be presented to the Parliament, Romania's citizens being the first interested in finding out the truth.

British Foreign Office Official Visits Bucharest

AU0612215090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2112 GMT 6 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 6/12/1990—Mr. Jeffrey Ling, assistant to the British Foreign Office undersecretary, is on a visit to Bucharest, in order to assist the Romanian Foreign Ministry in the introduction of informatics, financial management and bureautics.

During the talks a presentation was made of the Romanian Foreign Ministry's interest in the implementation of an informatic system, and the British side was requested to provide the necessary equipment, as well as the means for long-distance transmission of data within a computer network, and special software for the organization and the use of data banks. At the Foreign Ministry Press office an experiment was made, linking the ministry—via satellite—with the British Foreign Office.

Canadian Foreign Ministry Official To Visit 8 Dec

AU0612202790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1837 GMT 6 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 6/12/1990—Consultations between Romania's and Canada's Ministries of Foreign Affairs will be held in Bucharest on December 8. On the occasion analysis will be made of the current stage and the prospects of the bilateral relations and opinions will be exchanged on the main international issues.

The Romanian delegation will be headed by Mr. Romulus Neagu, secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Canadian delegation by Mr. Rod Irwing, director-general in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade. The guest will also lead the Canadian delegation at the fifteenth session of the joint Romanian-Canadian Governmental Commission for Economic and Technical-Scientific Cooperation which will be held in Bucharest on December 10 and 11, 1990.

State Secretary on Gas Imports From Albania

AU0612202890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1820 GMT 6 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 6/12/1990—In connection with the latest measures taken by the department of chemistry and petrochemistry to cope in December and further on with the population's demands, state secretary Ionita Valentin, head of the department, stated to ROMPRES that negotiations with Albania on an extra import of liquefied gas have been included. Also, for all consequences entailed by such a step, it was decided that a part of the amount of liquefied gas used so far in refineries for rubber manufacturing, should be given to the population.

Although the amount of crude processed this year is by 6 million tons smaller, the population was supplied with 113 percent liquefied gas over 1989, said Ionita Valentin, adding that that first import from Albania was to be followed by other contracts as well. Negotiations are on with French firms, he said.

* Joint Hungarian Conflicts Said To Increase

91BA0103A Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 11 Nov 90 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Senator Radu Ceontea, president of Vatra Romaneasca Union, by Emilia Vasiliu; place and date not given: "When You Hurt for the Fatherland"]

[Text] [Vasiliu] The Vatra Romaneasca Union [VRU] was formed nine months ago, "born of pain," as you put it somewhere. During this period, so eventful for Transylvania, has the pain abated or increased?

[Ceontea] We are the only beings that enter life with pain and tears. Perhaps this chronic state of pain has been accompanying us since the time we were exiled for being tempted by the forbidden fruit. We found consolation for our fate by sublimating it in art and we raised pain to the rank of a warning signal for the protection of our body. We turned pain into our ally. Pain is the what guides us toward special healing institutions and toward physicians. But what happens when you hurt for the Fatherland? Who can heal this acute pain that we have been periodically experiencing throughout our cruelly tested history? Perhaps only the example of our ancestors, who disconnected from life out of pain for the fatherland. It was this pain for the Fatherland that gave birth to VRU. What is the pain condition now? The acute pain has passed, but the chronic pain is still there. Even if we can accuse God of having subjected the Romanian people—born Christians—to the cruel experience of suffering too often and for too long, alone for our patient behavior we are entitled to demand if not happiness, at least a normal life. This is the objective principle of VRU: a normal life.

[Vasiliu] Which ones among the desiderata of VRU's Declaration-Program revealed themselves as feasible? Which didn't? Why?

[Ceontea] All the desiderata of our Declaration-Program are feasible. It is true, however, that some of them require a different economic situation and mood than the present ones. Our greatest wish is that the most urgent desiderata will no longer have to be fulfilled and will no longer be necessary once we have a normal life.

[Vasiliu] What importance does the VRU attach to relations with the UDMR [Democratic Union of Romanian Magyars]?

[Ceontea] However much they may be pretending, the way its leaders have been acting selectively and contradicting themselves even in Parliament, in the press, here or abroad, it is clear that the UDMR—the second largest political force in Romania—would like to become the ruling party of some 'Gagauz' republic or some 'canton' on ancestral Romanian soil. The 'Hungarian humbugs' in our country are preventing honest relations with the organization they are leading, to the detriment of a peaceful coexistence between Hungarians and Romanians. The angelic poses taken by some of the UDMR leaders are not fooling anyone: they can't expect to eat garlic and not smell of it. How can there be normal relations between the VRU and UDMR as long as the former views Romania as a united national state and the second strongly requested in the parliamentary commission in charge of drafting a new constitution that our country be 'Europeanized' as a multinational state... The UDMR leaders would do well to learn from Hungary's democratization lesson concerning minorities rights and then go on making silly demands. Alone if they tried to find out what were, what are, and what the future plans are for the rights of the Romanian minority in Hungary, i.e., in their country of origin, in comparison with the realities in Romania, the UDMR leaders would wake up and flood the VRU with contributions in dollars and marks. Then they would use the clubs that broke the bones of Mihaila Cofar of Tirgu Mures only as props for folk dancing, even if they didn't wear the Romanian tricolor sash across their chests...

[Vasiliu] What do you think of the work of the central commission that investigated the events in Tirgu-Mures? Do you think that there is a connection between the vacillating position of the Romanian authorities about that case and later provocations (some of them very recent) by certain hot-headed groups of the Magyar minority?

[Ceontea] I sat on that commission. Considering how its work proceeded and the attempts to take advantage of the famous Romanian tolerance—guilty people usually ask for tolerance—it took me a rather long time to realize that people were counting on the fact that as time passed and more distance was put between us and the tragic events, the crimes will pale and will even be erased. The conclusions—such as they were—were supposed to be presented toward the end of April under the aegis of the former CPUN [Provisional National Unity Council]. There was talk of presenting them on television, of having video cassettes for the purpose of general information. But nothing was done, and the reason given was that parliamentary endorsement was required, and the parliament was yet to be democratically elected. The silence deepend after the parliament was established. Anything that was done was done through the press, as I am doing now and as I did before. It was lucky that Mr. Ion Minzatu 'aired' something of the incipient civil war planned in Tirgu-Mures in VIITORUL ROMANESC. The sequel is known: Other, equally staged events took place, with scripts adapted from and props that seemed to have been borrowed from Tirgu-Mures. Additional investigation committees and commissions were organized. The old "Hymn to Romania" infiltrated them, too, and they proceeded with a slowness and in an amateurish manner that I think were premeditated. I cannot understand why professional investigators were not summoned to practice their skills and competence. I don't undersetand who and why is interested in concealing or denying the truth, even the truth that emerged from the memorandum that Major General Ioan Scriecíu—former CPUN chairman for Mures—submitted to the General Prosecutor's Office on 15 June

1990. Is no one interested in the truth revealed in that report? Does no one want it? Mr. Ioan Scrieciu was not only a witness, but also a victim of the events. The Hungarians forcibly occupied the prefecture building in Tirgu-Mures. That was a county coup d'etat, to put it more descriptively. I'm going to repeat what I said before, which is not an accusation, but a suspicion: deals were made prior to 22 December 1989, and because of those deals people feel obligated to remain silent, to deny, or to reward. We know who the instigators and the guilty ones are, we've seen them 'at work,' and they're moving with downright insolent confidence not only in the streets, in 'glory,' but also in Parliament. The guilty ones, many of whom left Transylvania by the thousands across the irresponsibly opened borders, are jubilating; I can see them, smiling sardonically, saying... the idiots are tolerant. And they put their services in the pay of other countries, besmirching us in an organized, thorough, and destructive manner; they are founding all sorts of transnational organizations and parties with anti-Romanian programs.

When I consider what happened on 13, 14, and 15 June 1990, I think that the crimes of the organizators will be split in two equal parts: on the one side the 'opposition,' and on the other the 'opposition to the opposition.' A deal will be struck. Being equally guilty, the two sides in the conflict will make up in secret, while the people will continue waiting for the truth... I feel free to think that we won't get to see the truth. The fact that nothing happened to us for years and years is taken advantage of. After 17 December too many things happened and too involved. The euphoria caused by the fall of the dictatorship hadn't even passed when we suddenly found ourselves faced with too many mysteries. Probably the single line envisaged after the political turn was thrown by an unforeseen switch. The 'engine' went into a direction for which we had neither packed nor prepared. Instead of following a track, it jumped into the boiling core of what we thought was the goal at the end of the road. We're looking back from where we are now. Those with a vested interest didn't expect communism to fall, too, only the dictatorship. We now see too many question marks, too many deals surrounding the popular rebellion of December. I suspect that these investigation 'committees' and 'commissions' belong to the same category of question marks and deals. Maybe those who establish them don't even realize. The investigations do more to conceal than to reveal. Tolerance can slide into irresponsibility. Either we have law, or we haggle. One or the other.

[Vasiliu] What's new with Mihaila Cofar? Have you any news of him?

[Ceontea] I wonder how many of those who hate us are sorry that by a miracle he is still alive. He's now in Germany for intensive rehabilitation treatment. Although his life will be tough and he will be burdened by infirmity for the rest of his days, to us he will remain the witness in the midst of a den of beasts.

[Vasiliu] Does the exodus of Romaians from Transylvania continue under the pressure of the Hungarian minority?

[Ceontea] From the Hungarians' viewpoint there never was any exodus. The Romanians of Harghita and Covasna of their own free will simply gave up their jobs and the households they had put together in order to refuse the 'house arrest' to which the dictatorship had forced them. As is well known, many of the Romanians obligated to leave were forced to declare in writing before Hungarian functionaries that they were leaving of their own free will. On the other hand, UDMR leaders—and not only leaders—are complaining about the injustice done to them by the Romanian 'colonization' of the respective counties where their presence—under the pretext of industrialization—disturbed their racial purity. They don't even have the decency to admit that precisely under that dictatorship impressive investments were made which pulled those counties out of their deep slumber, otherwise they would still be 'manufacturing' only potatoes, pine cones, and flax and living on the forests. Accusing the Romanians for daring to settle down in Romanian counties is not tactlessness, it's shamelessness. Don't these counties belong to us first and foremost? We are now the colonizers, or were their ancestors settled here because they didn't have a country? What would the UDMR say if some sick mind were to chase out of Bucharest the more than 200,000 Hungarians and Szecklers? But let us go back to the question. The exodus has abated. Which was only natural; without any official intervention. The state authorities slept and continue to sleep through this entire phenomenon. Another 'commission' was set up to interview people who were compelled to leave Harghita and Covasna. This commission is working in the Senate. Although the name of yours truly was suggested to join it, I was later taken off the list. At present the pressures exercised on the Romanians are mostly psychological. Mixed families are provoked by Hungarians to separate. Romanian language schools, i.e., those that were illegally forced by the Hungarians into physical separation, are assaulted by all kinds of pressures. The Octavian Goga Highschool in Miercurea Ciuc was attacked several times, windows were broken, and bands of hooligans entered the school yard and the building and threatened students and teachers. Parents are escorting their children to and from school for safety. There are Hungarian teachers teaching Romanian classes. They give superficial classes just in order to compel Romanian children to leave for other parts. Groups of Hungarians patrol trains and beat up travelers who don't speak Hungarian or speak it badly. Such incidents were recently signaled in the Mures County, too. A secret general staff seems to be coordinating these actions. Recently, after a concert given in Tirgu-Mures by the Ungarian group Edda—which disintegrated into a riot—the Polivalent Auditorium was destroyed; young Hungarian patriots came out into the streets shouting anti-Romanian and irredentist slogans under the folds of the Hungarian flag. There were demands for an independent and autonomous Transylvania. After a short tour, the group returned to Tirgu-Mures. They were not permitted to lease the auditorium again. Anti-Romanian demonstrations resumed. This time, as far as I know, there were 14 arrests. Instead of continuing to be...tolerant. Interpersonal relations between Hungarians and Romanians were all right before December 1989. Now they are deteriorating daily. The idea is to make sure that the Hungarian side is left without 'adversary.' These relations might become normal again only if some common internal enemy were to emerge, in other words, some common source of suffering like the dictatorship was. But if the enemy were to be a foreign enemy, the Hungarians would most probably be inclined to join it.

[Vasiliu] Concerning the demands of the Hungarian minority, where do you think is the line between rights and privileges?

[Ceontea] The mistake was made a long time ago, immediately after 1946. The privileges that were given the Hungarians in Romania were imposed by the Soviets. It is true that the Romanian authorities at the time fulfilled them without a murmur. It is no secret to anyone that socialism was 'built' in Transylvania by dominant Hungarian activists impelled by excessive zeal. Not to mention those who suppressed the resistance. I feel I need to add some explanations: In World War II Hungary fought at the side of Germany to the very end. Feeling that it had to redeem itself vis-a-vis the Soviets, Hungary quickly embraced socialism. The Soviet network made it a present of the Magyar Autonomous Region on Romania's soil. The Hungarians built a little Hungary in that enclave, defying the Romanian population, as we all know. The privileges granted them then are still in force and were in force under the dictatorship, too. I think we should take a more normal line, because we are unique in Europe, if not in the entire world, from the viewpoint of the rights and privileges of the Hungarian minority, the most privileged minority. And still they insult us, here and abroad. As I said in the beginning: the honest thing would be to follow Hungary's example in this respect, not to mention the example of Greece, where citizenship is officially the same as nationality. In that country officially there are only Greek citizens of Greek nationality. But I fear that some of the deals made before 22 December were made with the Hungarians. Otherwise how can we explain the official status of the exclusively ethnic party of the UDMR? And not only its status. After a stony dictatorship we now have an overly loose democracy. We just have to be different.

[Vasiliu] A Democratic Union of Magyarized Romanians was recently established. What are the relations between the VRU and that organization?

[Ceontea] Aside from the humorous aspect of the anagram made up of the initials of the Hungarian party in Romania, this new organization is not a political organization and it has joined the VRU. Its purpose is to identify Romanians with Hungarian-sounding names—more than one million such people, according to estimates—and conduct the necessary procedures to restore their Romanian names forcibly changed by the Magyar authorities.

[Vasiliu] You have just returned from Galati and Braila. What was the reaction there to the events on the other side of the Prut? What is VRU's position on the situation of Bessarabia? Since Romanians are involved there, too, do you believe that this organization is dutybound to become involved in all the issues concerning that component of the Romanian culture?

[Ceontea] Hearts beat in unison on both sides of the Prut. Just as the Milcov could not keep brothers apart, so will the Prut not keep them apart. Formally and conventionally, perhaps; emotionally, never. The VRU realizes that the Moldavian Republic is a sovereign state of Romanians brutally forced to live apart from Romania. It is not the mission of this organization to become involved in all the issues of the Moldavian Republic, only in those envisaged in its statute and its Declaration-Program. But we cannot ignore the fact that Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev is the recent winner of the Nobel Peace Prize. With less of a propaganda load, he fully earned that prize. I cannot help realizing that this recognition was also meant as a brake. Decency forces people to contain many of their aggressive instincts. Thus, the Moldavian Republic may have a smoother path toward achieving complete dignity. Except that behind padded doors politics is still at work without manyscruples. How can we fail to see the similarity between the actions of the Gagauz in Moldavia and the 'Gagauz' in the Harghita, Covasna, Mures, and other counties in Transylvania, fanned by, among other factors, their 'trans-Dniester' agents in Europe and across the Atlantic? Except that the self-determination, autonomy, and independence of the Moldavian Republic as stages toward the unification with the fatherland from which it was brutally separated—a spiritual union achieved by the common tricolor flag—cannot be encouraged by anyone with the thought that, by using this 'prcedent,' the desire for autonomy of certain 'Magyar' counties in Transylvania could fulfill the obsessive hallucination of 'historical' Hungary. Let us not lose sight of the fact that unpleasant surprises often happen, especially in politics. What guarantee do we have that the Gorbachev vision will be eternal? Oh, God! God preserve us from evil! A few clicks of booted heels and a few tanks can suffice to once again open the icy road to Siberia for hundreds of thousands of Romanians, for our Romanian brothers in the Moldavian Republic, which we miss, nothwithstanding its sovereignty.

[Vasiliu] Are you worried by Hungary's endeavors to withdraw from the Warsaw Pact?

[Ceontea] I have other worries. But I cannot help wonder under which umbrella it will move, because I don't think they'll go for nonalignment. Although, big power as it was since its many victories against the Turks, it can be strong by itself, too. I'm also thinking about the Small Entente. Once again we are sharing the same trouble as Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia.

[Vasiliu] How do you see the future of Transylvania?

[Ceontea] Time may work so honestly that a moment may come when many honest Hungarian citizens of Romania will regret having been tempted into unnatural situations by their UDMR leaders and will begin singing "Romanian batallions, cross the Carpathians..."

* Soviet Ambassador on Moldova, Future Relations

91BA0102A Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 7 Nov 90 p 6

[Interview with USRR Ambassador Feliks Bogdanov, by Corneliu Vlad; place and date not given]

[Text] [Vlad] Esteemed Mr. Ambassador, yours is a difficult mission. the Romanian-Soviet relations have not been of the best in the past. There is no point now in arguing whose fault that was. In any case, the former Romanian regime bears its undisputable share of the responsibility. But let's hope that all this is a closed chapter. It's history.

[Bogdanov] I came here to Romania about the middle of June. If you're referring to the period before the December revolution I am inclined to believe that there had been a decline in our bilateral relations. There has been no further deterioration since my arrival, on the contrary.

[Vlad] I was of course referring to the Romanian-Soviet relations prior to the events of December 1989...

[Bogdanov] Those events in Romania and the processes that are taking place in the Soviet Union have created favorable conditions for channeling our relations along new paths and purging them of everything that was negative and of all the elements that added complications to them, while preserving what was positive and constructuve. Because there were both good and bad elements. When I ask myself whether I am satisfied with the existing relations between our countries or not, the concurrence between our two countries viewpoints leads me to an affirmative answer. I see this concurrence not only at the level of our leaderships, but also in the wake of various meetings or contacts I have had as head of the Soviet diplomatic mission to Bucharest with the country's president, the prime minister, the foreign minister, the minister of culture, as well as with the president of the Romanian Academy or the Patriarch of the Romanian Orthodox Church. At each such meeting I noted that we had convergent views in the matter of our relations. This proves that conditions have been created for eliminating disagreements and misunderstandings. I am referring to historical ones. It is possible for us to implement the principles of full equality, noninterference in internal affairs, and mutual advantage in our relations, but what we must first do is to free our relations from ideology. The object of our endeavors is to find means of practicing these relations. We are considering political contacts, resolving economic problems, and developing contacts in all the areas, but the foremost factor is promoting contacts among people. Weaving the fabric of our relations is a daily concern.

[Vlad] Obvious difficulties will emerge in the economic area. As of the next year we will be working in different conditions...

[Bogdanov] There will of course be problems in the economic area, considering the fact that both our economies are facing difficulties. I am referring to the fact that as of 1 January our exchanges will be based on convertible currency and world market prices. Unfortunately we don't even have this kind of currency yet: neither we, nor you. If we had convertible national currencies, that could solve many problems. Both our countries are making efforts to make their national currency convertible. We must make sure that these interventions do not negatively affect the existing relations and that they help preserve everything that was positive. As far as we are concerned, the problem is further complicated by differences of views within the leadership and between the center and the republics, and the fact that a consensus has not yet been reached on each one's prerogatives. The program adopted by Russia is illustrative along this line, as it makes it absolutely necessary for the RSFSR [not further identified] to endorse any matter concerning international economic exchanges involving goods produced there.

As I understand it there are problems on the Romanian side, too, because the country's economic situation is precarious and the conditions are not always available for the fulfillment of contract obligations. I want to stress that we have only two months to change this entire economic mechanism, but both sides are making evident efforts to resolve current and future problems.

[Vlad] Let us now discuss the political relations. Do you think that the situation in the Moldavian Republic can have an impact on the political, interstate relations between the two countries?

[Bogdanov] That depends on the positions adopted by the leaderships of the two countries, of Romania and the Soviet Union; so far there have been no difficulties in this respect. There are forces that are trying to take advantage of the new situation in Moldavia and are even attempting to artificially create problems in our bilateral relations, something that is not valid [nu este valabil] for the position and behavior of the two countries' leaderships.

[Vlad] A few days ago President Ion Iliescu gave an interview for an Austrian paper...

[Bogdanov] And there was also the Parliament's declaration, which agreed with the interview, although there must have been many discussions in Parliament before the conclusion was reached. Ethnic issues are usually delicate issues that require great responsibility. This is very clear to everyone, so we don't need to cite additional arguments in this respect.

[Vlad] Do you think that the special situation in Moldavia was caused only by Gagauz forces and forces on that side of the Dniester, or were conservative forces at the Center, i.e., in Moscow, also involved in it?

[Bogdanov] I don't know, I do not particularly follow the situation. What I know of the events there did not give me the impression that the 'Center's hand' was at work, although such assumptions have been circulated. Judging by declarations made by the Moldavian leadership (Snegur and Druc), that is not the case. I suppose that there are forces in the republic that want to resolve their own problems and are pursuing their own interests. As for the state leadership, we didn't find any encouragement for the conservative forces in Gorbachev's declaration—which was actually carried in ROMANIA LIBERA.

[Vlad] In view of the fact that the Romanian press has carried various suppositions about the December events, I think it may be interesting to try to establish the USSR's share in the process that took place in Romania.

[Bogdanov] I believe that the events that occurred in Romania in December were in line with the process that characterized all the East European countries. I think that any talk of our country's participation in those events is completely unfounded. Since April 1985 we have been openly stating that we would no longer interfere in what happens in the other countries and that we did not intend to control the events there—which we couldn't even if we wanted to. This position was confirmed in Romania's case.

The processes and changes that occurred in the Soviet Union since 1985 were reflected in the Soviet press, radio, or television, and measures were taken to restrict the access of the other East European countries to that information and to prevent it from reaching them. Nevertheless, those processes began to make their effects felt; spirits became inflamed and people began comparing what was happening in our country to the situation in theirs. I think that the Soviet Union's impact consisted only of this kind of 'contamination' and nothing more.

[Vlad] The press also mentioned prospects of a framework of cooperation among the Black Sea countries.

[Bogdanov] Discussions have begun about a possible framework of cooperation among the Black Sea countries. There is no shortage of joint issues: Ecology, transportation, and economic affairs, but there is still nothing concrete. Such cooperation can be useful to the Black Sea countries and can help the process of general European integration. I particularly appreciate Romania's position in this respect because at bilateral talks on regional cooperation your country has been incorporating everything within the general-European process aimed at building a common European home. So far this idea is making its way. These countries have common affinities and from a geographical viewpoint this is a natural. Of course, it remains to be seen what concrete shapes this idea will take.

[Vlad] What could the press in our countries, ROMANIA LIBERA for example, do to contribute to a better Romanian-Soviet cooperation?

[Bogdanov] Write the truth; present the situation as it is. This recommendation is valid for any newspaper anywhere. The purpose of the press is to eliminate possible misunderstandings or unclear issues that may emerge. And if problems appear on one side or the other, the press must seek out real sources and verify their information.

The general journalistic tendency is to seek sensation. I don't want to condemn anyone for that. In point of fact, this pehnomenon is frequently enough encountered in our press, too. At times people lose sight of the fact that democracy requires a greater responsibility that the previous period, when orders from above had to be implemented to the letter. At that time good professionals—because both sides had and have talented journalists—used their talents to arouse the reader's interest despite harsh censorship and restrictions. Unfortunately, some journalists did follow orders to the letter. Only now, when you can write about anything, does the matter of real responsibility arise.

I want to sincerely wish your newspaper great success, interesting articles, and the largest possible readership.

* Peasant Party Communique on Moldova

91BA0102B Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 10 Nov 90 p 1

[Communique of the leadership of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party]

[Text] In connection with the events in the Moldavian Republic (Bessarabia), the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party [NPP] declares the following:

1. The history of Bessarabia, an ancient Romanian region, is saturated with the blood shed by its people to defend the national existence of the Romanian people.

The years 1812—when Bessarabia was first torn away from the body of the country—1856, 1877-78, 1918, and 1940 and the tragedies of the period of Stalinist occupation were only a few of the most dramatic milestones in the life of that population.

2. Our party, formed more than 100 years ago to lead the national liberation struggle of Romanians in Transylvania and Bukovina, and later the struggle of all the Romanians, never accepted the policy of force that resulted in the forcible separation of areas from the country's body. Even under the terrible Soviet military occupation after World War II, Iuliu Maniu, the martyr

leader of this party and of the Romanian people, firmly upheld the publicly asserted position that Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina were Romanian territories, a morally and judicially unassailable position.

3. The aggressive Molotov-Ribbentrop pact of 23 August 1939 and its secret Protocol, whereby Bessarabia was for the third time wrested from the Romanian territory, were declared null and void by the big powers, including the United States and England, under the Atlantic Charter (1943), and recently even by the USSR leadership.

In point of fact, according to the international law in effect in 1939 and 1940 when the decision was taken and Bessarabia was once again occupied and the USSR first seized Bukovina under the threat of force, such an occupation was utterly illegal.

4. The current profoundly democratic changes show that the imperial forms whereby whole nations were kept against their will within a heterogenous and forced ethnic conglomerate are completely anachronistic. In fact, the bell has long since tolled for such forms of foreign domination. The respective nations must be allowed to freely exercise their right to self-determination and to separate from these empires.

This principle applies to both Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina.

5. It is, however, essential that such a process take place without the use of force, only through peaceful means. The example of the unification of the two Germanies and tendencies in other parts of the world—the two Koreas or the two Yemens—constitute proofs of historic importance along this line. In point of fact, the Final Act of Helsinki on security and cooperation in Europe recognizes border modifications in Europe only if they were made by peaceful means. This provision is a valid juridical basis of a capital importance in these circumstances.

6. The entire process of European integration in general and of democratization of East Europe in particular is conducive to rapprochement among peoples, open frontiers, and the disapearance of the unnatural separation between peoples of the same origin and faith, who share the same history and destiny.

7. In view of the above and of the role played by USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev for the democratization and liberation of the East European peoples and for the establishment of the sovereignty of the union republics over their own territories and populations, any act contrary to those tendencies must be resolutely rejected. Inciting insignificant ethnic groups, like the Gagauz—who make up only three percent of the population—to separation, to hatred based race or nationality criteria, and to impairing the territorial integrity and political unity of the Moldavian Republic, and the use of force or the threat of force and of other dubious maneuvers in order to preempt the process of autonomy and independence are unacceptable actions contrary to the democratic spirit and dangerous for peace.

The NPP categorically rejects them both on grounds of morality and principle and for reasons of national Romanian interests.

8. The Romanians, a profoundly Christian people, do not harbor hostile feelings against any other people—especially not against their neighbors, who are also Christians—with whom they want to live in relations of good neighborliness. This requirement applies particularly to their relations with the Russian people. But for such relations to be able to develop we need respect for the truth concerning the history of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina and the Romanian origin of their populations, and for the natural consequences devolving from that truth: unity based on this.

The external historical events we are witnessing in the wake of the collapse of totalitarian communism, against which the NPP struggled with the greatest determination and made so many sacrifices, has created the conditions for fulfilling the unity aspirations of the entire Romanian nation.

The NPP Leadership

Ministry Spokesman Views Diplomatic Missions

*AU0612212090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
2054 GMT 6 Dec 90*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 6/12/1990—During his weekly press conference, the spokesman of the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ambassador Traian Chebeleu, emphasized that a resolution of the government approved increased pays for the staff of Romania's diplomatic missions in foreign countries. It refers to increases meant to ensure the Romanian staff possibilities to live a civilized and dignified life which are differentiated function of each country's living standard.

During the same press conference, the Foreign Ministry spokesman also referred to the present composition of Romania's diplomatic staff in foreign countries. Of a total of 362 diplomatic posts for foreign countries 270 have been assigned.

All the ambassadors assigned before the revolution have been called to the country, while 126 of political-diplomatic and technical-administrative workers compromised before the revolution were pensioned or transferred from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

To ensure the necessary staff for the future, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs took the measure to send 54 Romanian citizens to specialize abroad (34 students have been or will be sent to complete their studies to Germany, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, Mongolia, Poland, USSR, Tunis, South Korea, while 20 university graduates were sent to post-university studies to France, England, Austria, Switzerland, Germany and Italy), Mr. Chebeleu also specified.

Until December 1, 1990, 2,579 Romanian citizens who live aboard were permitted to return to the country. Another 485 former Romanian citizens got back the citizenship they had lost or renounced—announced the Foreign Affairs Ministry spokesman during a press conference on Thursday.

Parliamentary Groups Communique on Failed Dialogue

AU0612221790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2134 GMT 6 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 6/12/1990—The representatives of the National Liberal Party [PNL], National Peasant Christian Democratic Party [PNT-cd], the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania [Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania—UDMR] and the Social Democratic Party [PSD] parliamentary groups members of the special commission inquiring into the 13-15 June 1990 events made public in a communique sent to ROMPRES the causes of their absence from the meeting the commission had with Mr. Ion Iliescu, president of Romania, on 5 December.

The communique specifies that they demanded already two months ago the hearing of President Ion Iliescu and, after repeated refusals by the leadership of the Commission, on 4 December it was announced that President Iliescu agreed to conduct the respective talk on 5 December at the Cotroceni Palace.

The representatives of the PNL, UDMR, PNT-cd, and PSD parliamentary groups stressed that they agreed with the date and time proposed but requested that the interview should take place in the Parliament building in consideration of the fact that: the Commission must carry on its activity only in the building of the institution it represents; the Commissions's going to the Cotroceni Palace could have been considered as a subordination of Parliament to presidency; public opinion would have seen the going to the presidency as an influence on the objectiveness and independence of the inquiry commission.

PUDC Officials Interviewed on Current Policies

AU0612200090 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 4 Dec 90 p 2

[Interview with Christian Democratic Union [PUDC] President Mihai Grama and PDUC Secretary General Vladimir Fulger by Andrei Alexandru; place and date not given"]

[Text] Mr. M. Grama, the party's president, was first to answer our questions.

[Alexandru] Why, in your opinion, are you not represented in Parliament?

[Grama] We could not conduct a normal electoral campaign. We could not get through to the workers or peasants milieu, because of the teams of swash bucklers. We did not even dare go there after we were told what happened to the National Peasant Party activities and the liberals.

[Alexandru] What is your party's orientation?

[Grama] Center-right.

[Alexandru] Are you planning any mergers with other parties or alliances?

[Grama] We have already entered into an alliance with the National Christian Democratic Party, president Ion Puiu; the Free Democratic Party, president Nica Leon; and the independent National Peasant Christian Democratic Party [PNT-cd] of Craiova, president Victor Ionica. Within this alliance, we carry out joint actions, such as the joint demonstrations seeking to free the political detainees arrested on 18 February and 13-15 June. We also organized demonstrations against the current situation in Bessarabia. We participated in the anti-totalitarian forums in various counties. PNT-cd delegates asked us to endorse the organization of such a forum in Bucharest, as well. Of course, we gave them our endorsement.

[Alexandru] Do you have contacts with sister parties abroad?

[Grama] Yes. We have ties with the parties in Switzerland, the Netherlands, and Germany, but we received no assistance from them and there are no prospects of ever getting any.

[Alexandru] How do you assess the governmental team?

[Grama] The government's policy is dangerous and insincere. First of all, they should have privatized and only then proceeded to liberalize prices and salaries. The governmental team is young, but that is not enough. The biography of these people was not presented correctly; I believe that this team is faulty, because its members belonged to certain structure and enjoyed an education which has nothing in common with the market economy. Parliament should also have been more active. Senate President Alexandru Barladeanu blessed us with a communist economy and now comes to bless us with a market economy.

It is absurd, evil, and cynical. Why does this guy who beat me up now give me a pat?

If we were to examine each FSN [National Salvation Front] member individually, we would realize that they are opportunists, because they profited from the previous regime.

[Alexandru] What is your opinion about President Iliescu?

[Grama] He is very thirsty for power. The prerogatives of Romania's president are formal. The law does not grant him executive powers, but he keeps giving advise and solutions, as if he were running the country. He took over a number of prerogatives, which are not stipulated by the law. For instance, it is not written anywhere that the SRI [Romanian Intelligence Service] should be subordinated to the president. Prime Minister Roman does not have the final say; he is being constantly eclipsed by the president. Our interest is to make the president a figurehead.

[Alexandru] When you say we, who are you referring to?

[Grama] The Romanian state. I am talking about Romania's interest because, in defending this viewpoint of our party, I am defending our overall national interests. Another example of the fact that he has exceeded his prerogatives is that he called the miners on 13 June.

[Alexandru] Are you prepared to govern if you were to win the elections?

[Grama] No. We would like a coalition. None of the opposition parties will be able to win the elections. Practically speaking, there is no opposition in our Parliament—the deputies are getting paid for doing nothing. Because they do not solve or do anything. It is in the interest of society that we have a strong opposition. The extra-parliamentary opposition could play a great role, if it behaved in a civilized manner.

[Alexandru] Had you been the prime minister, do you think that you would have scored better results than the current government?

[Grama] Yes, much better results, because we enjoy credibility in the West and we would have received financial and technological assistance.

[Alexandru] What hardships do you have to face as a party?

[Grama] I cannot say that we have problems. The City Hall of Bucharest Sector One tried to evacuate us from this building, but the former Bucharest mayor, a man of good will, managed to solve the problem.

(Up to here, the answers were given by the party president; from here on, the party's general secretary Mr. Fulger joined the conversation)

[Fulger] As far as I am concerned, I would have been very content if I had been consulted on various matters, given my level of knowledge. I have lived for 20 years in the FRG and my experience could have been put to some use. If the FSN had offered us certain positions as technical consultants, we would have agreed to cooperate. I believe that Bucharest's face would rapidly change if some of my ideas were implemented. For instance, given the existing problems, the minister of interior is as naive as a child.

[Alexandru] Do you think that our police make a display of amateurism?

[Fulger] Yet, they display amateurism and ambiguity, sometimes deliberate. We also have very good policemen—colonels or majors—who say: "We do not intervene, there is no point to it. Much better to go on leave when there is a demonstration. The FSN may congratulate me, while the opposition hits me; who knows what the future will bring." The policeman has no status today.

[Alexandru] What should have been done in the University Square?

[Fulger] If the demonstration was unauthorized, then the police should have peacefully taken the demonstrators to the police headquarters and sorted them out there. They would have seen that 60 percent of the demonstrators were naive boys in the first year of study, while the rest were thugs. People should have been fined and professional demonstrators identified. There is another aspect, as well. The policeman's image should be clean. He should not work hand in hand with the black marketeers. I can take you to the Intercontinental or Bucharest hotel and I will show you 100 thieves that should have been behind bars. The policeman walks by and even greet them: "How are you, Costica, how are you Mitica?" This situation is abnormal.

Radio, TV Trade Union Petitions Parliament

AU0612122990 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 2 Dec 90 p 2

[Note from Dumitru Iuga, president of the Free Trade Union of the Romanian Radio and Television: "In Order To Avoid a Strike at the TV...Dumitru Iuga on Hunger Strike"]

[Text]**To Avoid a Strike at the TV....**

To the attention of Romania's Parliament: The Free Trade Union of the Romanian Radio and Television protests most strongly against the undisguised attempts of the administrative management of the Romanian Radio and Television to marginalize certain employees or even remove them from the structures of this institution of nationwide importance.

These workers have become undesirable due to their refusal to accept the moral and economic compromises imposed by the current leadership of Romanian Radio and Television.

We draw attention to the fact that the working methods are the same as those used until 22 December 1989: psychological terror, professional sabotage, calumny, threats, humiliation, and demotions, up to cancellation of the labor contract.

The case of Mr. Vartan Arachelian is known—to which one should also add the case of Mrs. Mihaela Mihai—who was asked to resign by Messrs. Razvan Theodorescu and Emanuel Valeriu, after having drawn the attention of the leadership of Romanian Radio and Television on several occasions to certain economic and legal abuses committed in the institution.

The old nomenklatura and the activists who led us until 11 months ago are still "leading" us today; they were promoted to leading positions and reorganized and they are more united and aggressive than ever before.

People such as Emanuel Valeriu, Nicolae Stanciu, Petre Popescu, Costel Buzdugan, Victor Teodoru, Ionel Bucheru, and Ilie Nedelcu—the list could go on and on—some of them have been of retiring age for quite some time, have not shown that they have changed their concepts and leave much to be desired from the viewpoint of their professional competence.

The leadership of the Romanian Radio and Television needs people of unquestionable moral and professional probity, who can take us out of the difficult situation in which we find ourselves and can lead us along the road of truth, to regain the Romanian people's respect and trust.

We suggest that the leading positions in Romanian Radio and Television should be filled by public competition among candidates chosen from all over the country, who can advance concrete plans for the organization, functioning, and development of Romanian Radio and Television, including a coherent programming policy, with the firm commitment to observe the impartiality and morality of the programs, against any kind of social and political pressure.

We want the jury also to include—aside from Romanian figures that are acknowledged by our civic society—foreign observers, experts in the audio-visual world media.

29 November 1990, the Free Trade Union of Romanian Radio and Television; President, Dumitru Iuga

...Dumitru Iuga on Hunger Strike

To prevent the Free Trade Union of the Romanian Radio and Television from launching a protest movement with unforeseeable consequences for the institution's productive activities—including broadcasts, which would deprive millions of viewers of their most important source of information—we decided that—in the event the Free Trade Union does not receive a favorable answer to its latest initiative within 40 hours of its registration with the Parliament's secretariat—I would go on an unlimited hunger strike at the trade union's headquarters on Calea Dorobantilor No 191, room 206, telephone 336981, until the full and final resolution of our claims.

I reserve the right to inform the entire public opinion at home and abroad about this desperate action.

29 November 1990, Dumitru Iuga, president of the Free Trade Union of Romanian Radio and Television

FSN Appeal to Inhabitants of Transylvania

AU0612111990 Bucharest AZI in Romanian 1 Dec p 4

[National Salvation Front appeal: "To Our Romanian Brothers in Transylvania"]

[Text] The thoughts of the National Salvation Front [FSN], which, with the agreement of the entire Parliament, has prepared this incomparable event here in Alba Iulia, meet with your thoughts.

Parliament, government, and president welcome us, Romanian brothers, and let us pray together at the shrine of continuity and rights in Transylvania.

With the warmth of your brotherly hearth, welcome all the inhabitants of Transylvania, regardless of language and tradition, to this holiday of ours, which we also want to be their holiday as well.

When God wanted to destroy the world it mixed up all languages. Let us speak here only one language, the language of the interests of our homeland and of the human understanding with the rest of the world.

Let us be strong, Transylvania is ours, and ours is the right, ours is the land, and ours is history. God is with us!

PDM Leader Verdet Views Economic Situation

AU0612172090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1616 GMT 6 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 6/12/1990—"We are only a leftist alternative to a liberal programme"...states Ilie Verdet, chairman of the newly founded Socialist Party of Labour [PDM], in an interview he granted to the independent daily "EXPRES".

Mentioning that now his party is concerned to reorganize itself and clearly outline a programme, Ilie Verdet says: we support the market economy but only the social and liberal one which recognizes all kinds of property that are equally legal providing the property is not detrimental to the state property. Privatizatizon has but worsened the situation so far, Ilie Verdet opines considering that Romania's economic situation "is going to a visible deterioration". The explanation the new party leader gives to the negative phenomena registered in the economy is that "a large number of the professionally well-trained personnel (excepting political cadres) are in abeyance, bearing the moral responsibility for having a past to which reference will ever be made. Therefore, my political belief is that the reorganization of the party on new bases not only in point of name but also of essence is a political factor which would contribute to the normalization process for reconciliation and the creation of a national consensus."

Incident in Television Studio During Broadcast

AU0612215690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2117 GMT 6 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 6/12/1990—On Thursday [6 December], the National Television Station interrupted its "Actualitati" programme for several moments because a member of the Television Free Trade Union Organization (SLT) entered the studio and informed the public opinion that he had a cassette which the SLT members wanted to present on the television. He underscored that they did not demand the resignation of the government or of the country's president, but they wanted to present the health situation of their leader, Dumitru Iuga, who had been hunger-striking since December 1, 1990.

For several minutes the "Actualitati" broadcaster's voice intermingled with the voices of those demanding the cassette to be presented.

[Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian at 2056 GMT on 6 December 1990, concludes today's edition of the "24 Hours Program" with the following announcement: In connection with what happened tonight in Studio Number 4, we broadcast the following piece of news: esteemed viewers, we inform you that tomorrow, during our evening broadcast, the television will broadcast an interview with Mr. Dumitru Iuga, the leader of the Free Trade Union of the Romanian Television, who will explain the motives which made him start a hunger strike.]

Iliescu, Roman Attend Heroes' Cemetery Ceremony

AU0612211490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2042 GMT 6 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 6/12/1990—The ceremony of blessing the Cemetery of the Heroes, Martyrs of the December 1989 Revolution in Bucharest as well as the place where the heroes' church is to be built took place on Thursday [6 December].

The service of the Holy Cross placed where the alter of the future church will be built was performed by the patriarch of the Romanian Orthodox Church Teoctist together with Bishops Vasile Tirgovisteanu, patriarchal vicar, and Roman Ialomiteanu of the Bucharest Archbishopric and a group of priests and deacons.

The ceremony was attended by President Ion Iliescu of Romania, Prime Minister Petre Roman, the minister of national defense, General Colonel Victor Atanasie Stanculescu, the minister of the interior, Doru Viorel Ursu, the prosecutor general of the Republic Gheorghe Robu, members of the families of the deceased, inhabitants of the capital city.

Senate Discusses Compensation, Other Bills 6 Dec

AU0612221690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2118 GMT 6 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 6/12/1990—On December 6, the second part of the Senate's plenum proceedings began with a moment's silence for the heroes of the December 1989 revolution. This solemn moment preceded the beginning of the debates on a bill initiated by the National Salvation Front's Parliamentarian Group, a special bill on the modalities of honoring the martyrs and granting compensations to their families as well as to those injured during the December 1989 revolution.

All the senators who took the floor spoke in favor of this bill, which will come into force, according to its Article No.13, starting December 1, 1990.

On Thursday, the Senate continued debating a proposal made by a group of senators regarding the abrogation of the State Council's Decree No. 409 of 26 December 1985 on the increase of the tax paid by childless persons. Following debates and a thorough analysis of the provisions of the two documents, the senators passed those normative acts with a majority of votes.

The Senate will resume proceedings on Friday in its specialized commissions.

Deputies' Assembly Adopts Profit Tax Bill

AU0612143790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1502 GMT 6 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 6/12/1990—On Thursday morning the Assembly of Deputies adopted with a majority of votes the profit tax bill which creates a unitary legal framework for a fair participation of economic agents in forming state revenues in relation to the size of the profit made by each.

In accordance with that bill, tax level ranges from 5 percent for profits over 25,000 lei to 57 percent for profits over 955 million lei. Profits under 25,000 lei will be tax-free. In order to attract local and foreign economic agents to invest capital in the Romanian economy's priority fields the bill stipulates two years' profit tax exemption for such cases. Moreover, in order to use part of the profits in productive or environmental protection investments, economic agents will have their tax halved. Mention should be made that institutions for the blind and the invalid, associations of the handicapped and economic units belonging to them, as well as charity associations will be exempted from profit taxes.

The Assembly of Deputies' session continues.

Deputies' Assembly Resumes Tax Bill Debates 6 Dec

AU0612211590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2034 GMT 6 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 6/12/1990—On Thursday morning the Assembly of deputies resumed debates about the bill on profit tax. Article 9 that stipulates certain tax reductions for profits resulting from some activities met with diverging opinions. Several deputies from opposition groups mainly supported the idea that foreign investors be totally exempt of profit taxes, arguing that would be an important incentive to attract foreign capital. Others pleaded for tax exemption of investments by economic agents in sports, health, and other socio-cultural fields. Those amendments, when put to the vote, failed to be adopted. As a result, the article 9 of the aforementioned bill was passed with 218 votes our of the about 300 deputies present. It reads: "Such profits of tax-paying units as are used to expand and modernize their technical-material basis and manufacturing technologies or to extend the activities for more profit as well as for investment in environmental protection will be reduced by 50 percent and the respective amounts will have the same destination."

On ending its Thursday session, the Assembly of Deputies also approved the report of the mediation commission on the settlement of disputes between the two chambers on the bill on unemployment allowance and retraining of the unemployed and on the bill on the organization and operation of the National Defense Ministry. That normative act stipulates the role and tasks of the Ministry of National Defense in defending national independence and sovereignty, as well as Romania's territorial integrity against any aggression and in case of war.

Need for 'Unity in Thought and Feeling' Stressed

AU0612152790 Bucharest LUMEA AZI in Romanian No. 48/29 Nov 90 p 2

[Manuela Stefanescu article: "December"]

[Excerpts] Our predecessors were able to found the Romanian state by uniting the principalities in the War of Independence and through their tireless work aimed at national rebirth. Today we have the opportunity to complete their work and to finalize for good what Mihai Viteazul achieved just briefly—the unification of Romanians on both sides of the Carpathians mountains. [passage omitted]

Thus, the Romanians are able to unite for a major cause. Many years had to pass, however, before they were able to prove it once again. In December 1989, everything that had stayed alive in a nation almost completely destroyed by 45 years of communist dictatorship rose to struggle. Whether there were one or several plots at the level of the second, third or fourth rank of the nomenklatura does not change facts in any way: In December 1989, hundreds of thousands of people, who went out into the streets of big cities with desperation as their only weapon, were convinced that they were facing the alternative of freedom or death. In December 1989 their feeling of belonging to a nation of the great majority of Romanians, irrespective of the country in which they lived, was reborn. [passage omitted]

The week of 16-22 December 1989 marked a rebirth through the emergence of Romanians from the nightmare of communism. Communism dismantled the civilian society and annihilated the individual by depriving him of all his rights and incorporating him into a large mass of exploited people watched over and terrorized by the party-state supported by the bodies of repression. Communism can only breed dictatorships; this is obvious in absolutely all countries which have gone or are going through this inhumane experience.

Let us not have any illusions. Communism has not yet disappeared. It continues to exist not only through its nomenklatura but, especially, within ourselves, in our mentality. We have to learn again that each human being has his rights, which have to be respected by the community, and that democracy does not mean only that the minority is subordinated to the majority, but also that the minority may have a different opinion from that of the majority, which it can express freely, without any restrictions and fear of repression.

This will be a difficult but necessary reeducation process which all of us have to go through. For this we need the strength that can be ensured only by the unity "in thought and feeling" of all Romanians, wherever they may be.

Let us hope that choosing 1 December as the Romanian national day augurs well for our long road to truth.

* Roman Discusses Reform in TV Interview

91BA0128A Bucharest AZI in Romanian 22 Nov 90 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Prime Minister Petre Roman for Romanian Television; place and date not given]

[Text] [AZI] Mr. Prime Minister, I think it won't surprise you to hear that we are going through a rather difficult time from a political and economic viewpoint. It seems that the popularity of both the government and the National Salvation Front [NSF] have dropped. Quite a few accusations were against the Front at the meetings organized on 18 November by the Civic Alliance: That it has not given up communism, that it owes the nation quite a lot, namely explanations for the events of 13-15 June, February, January, and 21-22 December, and actually, as you know, they shouted "NSF-RCP" [NSF-Romanian Communist Party] and "Down with the Communist government." This is all relatively disconcerting, because measures such as the price liberalization cannot be viewed as Communist measures. Can you comment on these accusations?

[Roman] Actually I must comment. It is important to make a distinction between slogans and political initiatives outside the political process that is being built in the country, and the many people who have worries, anxieties, and complaints—many of them justified—not only intellectuals, but all those people who legitimately raise the questions you mentioned—some of which bother me, too. Because it is shameful on the part of those who do nothing but shout accusatory slogans to forget that many of us were among those who contributed to bringing down the dictatorship and the communist structures in Romania. Therefore, if you'll allow me, I want to talk about this at both levels.

We claim that what we need today more than anything else is to build a political process, a process of economic upsurge, a new positive movement, and positive dynamics in the economic structures, especially in our industrial structures. We have already suggested replacements, because we cannot eliminate without suggesting and putting in place something else. From this viewpoint I think that today an attitude of dismissing everything in Romania claiming that almost nothing has changed proceeds from arbitrary premises; it is a false and at the same time very damaging idea. Why is it false? Because we in Romania have begun following the path of a pluralistic democracy; it is at work in Romania. The structure, omnipresence, and omnipotence of the party apparatus have been destroyed in Romania. A process of individual freedoms, of withdrawal of the state monopoly from the economy, of initiative and property, in other words of promoting initiative and ownership both in the industrial and agricultural sectors is now developing in Romania. There is an economic reform program which in essence is unquestionably an innovative program, a program capable of prompting changes in ourselves, too.

That is why I believe that this idea is false, and it is very damaging because what would a shake-up do to Romania, now that it is in full process of reconstruction and renovation and amid the profound economic crisis that is facing us? It would mark a breakup perhaps, but not a breakup of what we have in fact already broken, but a breakup of the very substance of the Romanian society, something that is undoubtedly against the national interests. Consequently, I think that we must be very firm at the political level and must clearly assert that the Romanian society currently needs to build something, both in politics and in the economy, not to negate at any cost. Vanity, political ambition, thirst for power—and not only power—are the marks of people who do not put the interests of Romania's construction and restoration above everything else. There are people that may perhaps mean something to a political group, but allow me to say that they cannot mean anything to the nation.

Now let us discuss people's justified worries and complaints. First I would like to talk about the economic and material aspect, which I think was responsible for somewhat undermining the image of the government and the NSF and their popularity. In my opinion, the causes lie in the fact that we have not managed to clearly separate ourselves from the bureaucratic structures that may still be described as communist, although not officially or as a matter of principle—that we have already won—but in point of details, of everyday life, and of the way in which the administration is run.

We still have an obvious tendency—especially at departamental level—to order enterprises about, to stifle initiative, and to create confusion. These things often occur for an obvious purpose: to preserve the privileges, jobs, and levers to which the men of the old structure still try to cling—demagogically in the name of the program, but actually against it—and to maintain structures that we wish to abandon and to eliminate. Moreover, some of these people have themselves become rumormongers, demagogically representing our initiatives and those of the reform; according to the rumors, this government is alternatingly selling out the enterprises, selling out the people, or selling out the country—everything utterly unfounded, but obviously aimed at creating confusion and social disarray. Who stands to profit by confusion and social disarray? Certainly not the forces that hope for innovation and who wish to make radical changes in this country.

[AZI] I think you mean to go even further. It seems to me that you are nevertheless talking about a certain discreditation of the NSF.

[Roman] There are undoubtedly such attempts at the political level. The tendency to associate the NSF with the old communist structures and practices is nothing but a deliberate attempt to discredit it; in point of fact, I am convinced that the people will not go along with it, because any thinking person evidently can see in what way and how much it has changed. Which does not mean that there are no attempts, even inside the NSF, to make money or to arrogate undemocratic rights. Because the old mentalities have not disappeared.

[AZI] Do you view this as the reason for certain mistakes, let's say for certain mistakes made by the Front?

[Roman] More than specific mistakes, the main failure of the Front is that it did not manage to satisfactorily, concretely, and visibly involve itself in the process of rejuventation and reform through its links with the country. This was the greatest failure of the NSF, but the explanations given have often been just demagoguery. Instead of telling people, as we did at the elections, that we are facing a very difficult situation, that we are on a very thorny path, and that we have no other resource but our own work and our desire to outdo ourselves, and instead of explaining the rationale of our plans, demagogical tendencies appeared among us, within the NSF.

Moreover, the NSF should have been the main sppokesman for the desire to answer questions such as the ones you posed. Who could be more interested in answers than someone like myself, who was in the streets on the 21st, and who was shot at on the 22d, 23d, and

24th? Who more than us can be interested in discovering what happened there, who were the people who shot at us, and in whose interest?

We are having difficulties understanding some things. We should be the ones to tell the country and the nation everything that happened. We, we should be the ones to demand that the situation be clarified.

Concerning the events in Tirgu Mures, I was told that Parliament has succeeded in putting together an interesting and complete report which demonstrates that we are capable of examining ourselves. As for the events of June and July, it seems that we are better able—we, I for example, or President Iliescu—to explain them to the European Council or the European Parliament than to our own people. That is because at home we are continually subjected to the most imaginary and the most crass accusations.

We should have taken the initiative ourselves to tell people, as we always did, in all frankness, because we don't have anything to hide. We must be the representatives—we declared ourselves the representatives and we must be the representatives—of social change. We must be the representatives of the people's desire for truth, and especially of the aspirations of people who want to finally work for their own good. They must be made to feel that they are working for their own good—and not only by words—because, coming back to the price liberalization, as long as the administration, the departments, and all these directorial structures are blocking every initiative and do not allow the enterprises to become active factors, the price liberalization is indeed only a burden on the people's shoulders and nothing more. The liberalization was designed primarily so that the enterprises can revitalize their situation, certainly not in order to affect the population.

[AZI] You talked about the influence of certain people from various political circles or groups. I would like to ask you something rather startling. Do you believe in the role of individuals in the process of social development?

[Roman] I am of course convinced that political personalities often play an essential role for social development.

[AZI] In view of this recognition, you speak clearly and to the point about the Front's affairs and concerns, so to say. What is your role in the NSF?

[Roman] This is of course a very natural question. I am the national leader of the NSF; this is in accordance with democratic practice in all the countries with democratic traditions. The leader of the majority party is also the prime minister, i.e., the head of the executive branch. There is no confusion or doubt about this, there is reason and sense in this practice.

[AZI] Nevertheless, it seems to me that this information comes a bit late for our country.

[Roman] Possibly. I grasped as much from your question, but I know that there is some misunderstanding about this, which is undoubtedly a pity. It is our fault that we didn't manage to explain it earlier. This practice must be explained; we must clarify why this dual function is necessary in the first place, because there is one thing we must be aware of: no executive power and no prime minister can remain in power in a democratic state unless they have the support of a political movement. It cannot exist as an autonomous body; recently some people have been trying to spread the idea that the government is a competent government of technocrats, a government in its own right. That is far from sufficient. If this government is not legitimized in each of its actions by a political movement which, in our opinion, must reflect the wishes of the people, it doesnt' stand a chance of succeeding.

[AZI] Mr. Prime Minister—also in view of your status as NSF national leader—at this time, when all the Romanian political parties are regrouping and restructuring, the Front...

[Roman] The Front, too, is in full process of restructuring, even organizationally. First of all I want to recall one fact that is often forgotten, namely that at the National conference, before the elections, the NSF declared itself a left-wing political movement of a social-democratic orientation. However, this orientation was not automatically emphasized and implemented in the NSF program and in its work style. This current definition of center-left orientation toward the ideal and program of European social-democracy are, however, being increasingly emphasized. This does not mean that within this very lively process that is necessary within the NSF there may not emerge various motions closer to the left or closer to the center. This is not only normal, but also useful. This is the stage we're at. And we must persuade those who supported us—who I hope still support us and believe in us—that the NSF is progressing toward a political movement formula, a party formula in keeping with broad popular wishes.

[AZI] To persuade you must achieve an equilibrium among the various factons within the Front. Are you managing to do that?

[Roman] You see, equilibrium can only be achieved through a democratic formula. We have noticed that in some opposition parties such formulas are easily defeated by so-called consensus from above! We are not in favor of such formulas, and I don't mean this as a criticism; in this respect, our formula is one of consensus from the grassroots. So in the matter of this kind of motions, which we must discuss, they must be democratically presented at the national convention that we plan to hold on 17-18 January next year. They must be heard and must be thoroughly argumented, so that the most broadly supported [line] can become supported by the new political movement, can become the political formula of the new political movement.

[AZI] You mentioned a democratic formula. I would like to expandour discussion to touch on democracy—on democracy in general and on democratic principles. As is more or less well known, in any democratic society the civic rights and freedoms are unanimously recognized, and not only recognized, but implemented.

I would like to talk particularly about three freedoms: freedom of expression, freedom of conscience, and freedom or right of association. I am convinced that these rights may not in any way be violated in a truly democratic society.

From this viewpoint, what does Prime Minister Petre Roman, the NSF national leader think of the emergence of the Socialist Labor Party [SLP]?

[Roman] I would like to go back to 22 December in order to answer. On that day a discussion took place at the former Central Committee among a few people who were, so to speak, a first thinking formula, certainly not a politial power formula. A first formula for examining the situation in which we found ourselves. There exists a televized document, too—not televized, on film. Well, on that day some people clearly stated that our program must center on abandoning the party structures and the former Communist Party, and on fully adopting a pluralistic democracy. Having said that it means that we implicitely meant to guarantee freedom of expression, freedom of conscience, and the right of association. It is my impression that these freedoms are not being violated in our country either de facto or de jure. I cannot deny that some people still think that something is not right. Either that there are allegedly sequels or remnants of the security apparatus that could yet bare their fangs; or that, what do I know, some small or big director at some administrative unit was arrogating privileges and prerogatives—because, of course, privileges is what motivates so many petty interests so harmful to the society. We cannot deny that. But after all, these freedoms are the greatest gainst of the December Revolution.

[AZI] In fact, if you don't mmind I want to make a real and very concrete statement that may be very unpleasant for some circles: in no other democratic country in the world was the Communist Party. or a party with communist leanings, outlawed, because such a step can affect the pluralistic system and democracy in its essence.

[Roman] You're right. But there is something I want to point out about the manner in which this party, which assumed the continuity of the RCP—which strikes me as an act of rather irresponsible courage—was formed, and on this we must be very categorical: the people who established the SLP stated that they fully respect the legality of democracy. But it seems that even the manner in which it was formed revealed the germ of a practice that we sought to abandon and to kill at the time of the Revolution. There is no doubt that a communist faction may exist or subsist, just as it subsists in other democratic countries. But let us not forget that in democratic countries such a communist faction existed and continues to exist only within a democratic framework in which the principles of democracy are fully respected. This party must clearly pledge to respect these democratic principles in every aspect of political and organizational activities and in everything connected with participation in social life.

We, the NSF, are very determined to deal resolutely with any attempts to revive the practices that I hope the Revolution has forever suppressed .

[AZI] What you said is evidently very real. In the final analysis, failure to respect democratic principles leads to self-exclusion from the political and social arena. You spoke of dealing with such attempts. At the present time, which we tried to examine very briefly, I would like to ask you very directly about the connection between the NSF, the Civic Alliance, and the SLP.

[Roman] The Civic Alliance is not a political group. It is not registered as a political party. It is a conglomerte of political groups that seem to feel frustrated by their failure to join the democratic process whose cornerstone was the elections. The Civic Alliance may try to revive the questions or fears I mentioned before, but the idea of a breakup, of which I also spoke, is out of the question, or should be out of the question, because, as I said, a breakup in the present Romanian society would break up the nation itself and the essence of our society.

[AZI] Do you believe that by saying that it was the "last solution" this Civic Alliance is implicitely advocating such a breakup?

[Roman] That would appear to be the case. However, having noticed that the Civic Alliance has also been joined by people for whom I have complete respect, I hope that in the final analysis it will still try a formula designed to speed up and clarify the dynamics of the democratic process in Romania.

As for the SLP, I think I was very clear about it. Not only do we have nothing in common with that party—because we took it upon ourselves to abolish the structures of the former Communist Party—but I can even say that it is the party from which we very clearly separate ourselves. Perhaps the most clearly.

[AZI] And a last question, Mr. Prime Minister. What do you think the NSF should do to become more involved with the large masses?

[Roman] The key to such involvement is, in my opinion, the ability to inspire people with the trust that our plans for the society and our program incorporate the elements of the common interests of each person. They incorporate the elements and wishes, and the basis for fulfilling people's aspirations to live freely, to produce freely, and to preempt the genesis and emergence of flagrant social injustice.

This kind of trust is the foundation for the affirmation of the Front.

[AZI] I'm sorry, it was not the last question. Now comes the last question: personally speaking, do you—as prime minister and NSF national leader—believe that you have so far justified this trust?

[Roman] Well, this is a question of conscience.

Yes, I am convinced that we have worked the way we promised to work when we took on the job, amid such a difficult situation for our country. Which does not mean that there haven't been detours, confusion, and even moments of doubt, but we worked like honest people in the service of this nation.

[AZI] Thank you very much!

[Roman] I thank you!

* Government Said To Exceed Its Powers

91BA0102D Bucharest VIITORUL in Romanian
13 Nov 90 pp 1, 4

[Speech by Deputy Nae Bedros of District 41, Bucharest, at 7 November Parliament session]

[Text] On the basis of Article 73 of the Chamber of Deputies Bylaws, I had intended to ask the National Liberal Party [NLP] parliamentary faction to change the agenda and have the Assembly discuss the government's decision on price liberalization and social protection measures. I gave up, however, because I thought that the measure was coming too late. Using the fait accompli method, the decision was implemented on 1 November.

I think that, in view of the contents and social implications of that decision, Parliament should have been asked for its endorsement before it was implemented. The intransigent position adopted toward the opposition expressed by the public and by a large number of parliament members [MP's]; the superficial reasons, not connected with the real prospects of a transition to a market economy; the insiginificant compensations granted only to certain social categories; and the habit of monopolizing the television in order to broadcast the government's views and using the forces of order to intimidate opponents are all factors capable of bringing about additional social tension and deepening the lack of faith in the government.

The present government had the advantage of continuity; it was supported by the majority political party and by the opposition parties represented in Parliament. It had unrestricted access to all the administrative, economic, and financial mechanisms needed to implement its declaration-program of June.

I note with profound anxiety that the executive branch is endeavoring to take over the prerogatives of the legislative branch. This is not the first time that the government uses the strategy of imposinglegislative regulations of a particular importance for the society in the form of DECISIONS or DECREES, while regulations with insignificant effects are submitted for Parliament debate as LAWS. I will remind you of Law No. 2/4 of July 1990 concerning the budget of Romania's president, consisting of only four articles, designed to pass a 60 million lei and $1 million budget for 1990 alone; Law No. 9/31 July 1990 on temporarily banning land alienation, or the draft bill in two articles on cutting down from one to 0.5 percent the penalties for failure to deliver certain services on schedule. At the same time, we noticed the tendency of certain government members to trivialize Parliament activities for the purpose of making it responsible for delays in the legislation process, when in fact the government was bearing the main responsibility because it was incapable of hammering out urgent draft bills (for the budget, the land stock, the housing stock, education, etc.).

After ten months of government we note a deepening of poverty whose scope and length Mr. Prime Minister has been avoiding to specify:

—increased corruption in all the areas;

—worse bureaucracy;

—restoration of old structures at various levels of management because of the implementation of the notorious principle of cadres rotation;

—suborning the television to the interests of the government;

—attempts to control the independent press;

—tendencies to reaccustom public opinion to working visits to economic units and institutions.

In view of this situation, the NLP Parlimantary faction looks with reservation upon the government's so-called liberal program and the economic recovery measures announced in the prime minister's report. There are great contradictions between the government's declarations of intent and its measures. Many of its DECISIONS AND DECREES constitute an obvious obstacle to development toward a market economy.

In the television broadcast aired on Sunday the government came out with a new concept on the implementation of the law of commercial associations and autonomous administrations. It was stated that 70 percent of the national assets will be sold. (Article 25 of the bill envisaged merely leasing or granting concessions for running state-owned assets: production units, land, public services, etc.).

The fact that the NLP proposal to increase to 75-80 percent the total national assets to be turned into private capital through stock freely distributed to the population, and the fact that other economic methods—like those proposed by Professor Anghel Rugina or Dr. Constantin Cojocaru—were ignored open the door for various interpretations of the government's real intentions. Parliament must seriously reflect upon this issue and make a decision.

Just so I don't have to take the floor again, I will now express my view on Parliament's decision on the government's request to be given extended powers for the implementation of the economic reform. This is an utterly superfluous document, unless we wish to view it as an act of courtesy toward the government.

Paragraph 1 suggests that for the next six months the government be given the right to effectively amend taxes and levies by decisions that will be submitted for Parliament approval at a later date. I want to point out that the government is entitled to issue decisions without having to secure approval for them, as indeed it did in the case of the price liberalization decision.

Paragraph 2 authorizes the government to sign for state-guaranteed foreign financial credits up to a quarterly ceiling approved by Parliament. This kind of authorization is just a formal matter because, since it has not presented a budget for this year, the government was in a position to freely dispose of all the financial resources regardless of their source.

Paragraph 3 radically modifies the meaning of a request expressed by the prime minister in his report. This change of perspective is in keeping with the rejection reaction evinced by most MP's. To approve the implementation of a law passed in Parliament before the publication of the MONITORUL OFICIAL is even recommendable in the current conditions. Moreover, in some situations the government adopted measures that were legislated later. I am referring to the commercial associations and the National Agency for Foreign Capital Investment.

Paragraph 4 reproduced the contents of article 92 of the Assembly of Deputies Bylaws, which clearly stated that the Assembly can adopt special legislative procedures to speed up the debates on draft laws.

Consequently, it is our opinion that the Parliament's decision on the government's request to be granted extended powers to implement the economic reform can consist of a single paragraph: "Rejected."

* Magureanu on Role of Intelligence Service

91BA0095A Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 1 Nov 90 p 5

[Interview with Virgil Magureanu, head of the Romanian Intelligence Service, by Petre Mihail Bacanu; place and date not given]

[Text] [Bacanu] What do you think, Mr. Magureanu, is my phone under supervision?

[Magureanu] I don't think so.

[Bacanu] Nor the phones of other of our fellow citizens?

[Magureanu] No.

[Bacanu] Now let's hear what you expect from the press.

[Magureanu] My interest in this discussion with you lies elsewhere, namely I would like to see whether as a public opinion spokesman—because that is what you are—we couldn't find some means of...

[Bacanu] First of all enhancing the credibility of your institution!

[Magureanu] That's our main and foremost concern.

[Bacanu] So what should we be doing, Mr. Magureanu?

[Magureanu] This is a time to concentrate on the factors that can increase our credibility. Occasionally things happen that still undermine it. One officer—who was actually hired last summer—attempted to enlist a citizen like in the old days. We found out that the man wasn't quite sane. So I asked our men: What were the criteria for hiring him? It was simply the obsession of the old methods. We can do without all those who can do us great disservice and without a certain manner and prejudice that marked all those who belonged to the Securitate and who did us great disservices in the past. We are well served by anyone who calls our attention to such things.

[Bacanu] Let's proceed systematically. The first question is, how were your officers selected?

[Magureanu] The selection took place at several stages and in several phases. The first selection was a spontaneous one, when Securitate members literally ran off. People who knew they were compromised and could expect to be called to account escaped from the country. Simply disappeared. This may sound rather like a mystery novel, but I think that some of them not only contributed to preserving Ceausescu's regime, but may have even committed murders. So the first selection took place at the end of December-beginning January.

[Bacanu] Do you have a list with their names?

[Magureanu] No, and we probably should have gone that route at the beginning, making lists of the former troops. We never had access to such documents; my impression is that the Army still has them. We didn't deal with that because there was always something else, the events succeeded one another very fast, and we neglected the time prior to December.

[Bacanu] Their escape—is that an assumption or a certitude?

[Magureanu] It is a certitude. There are several indications along that line. They ran off. There have been indications even in foreign press that some of them settled as far away as Sweden, anyway somewhere in the West, for fear of reprisals.

[Bacanu] I find it difficult to believe that all of them escaped, but I suspect that if all the Securitate members were to be exactly counted we could find out who was absent from the roll call and they could be traced even in Sweden. What happened after the spontaneous phase?

[Magureanu] The second phase came when former troops from various directorates were put under the jurisdiction of the Army. That was, so to speak, a first attempt to restore certain structures in charge of state security. We didn't sign any decision concerning their status or the relationship between them and other institutions. They were simply transferred to the Army. At that stage, which took approximately three months, the ranks of the former Securitate were purged and many people were retired to the reserves. We can state that most of those people are still in the country. The third phase began when the Romanian Intelligence Service [RIS] was established.

[Bacanu] A large number of people who suffered at the hands of the Securitate are wondering where their files are and who may have a vested interest in keeping them under the covers.

[Magureanu] Mr. Bacanu, concerning a consensus on this point, the issue of whether to publicize or not the contents of such files is not a simple one...

[Bacanu] It is a matter of ethics, of moral justice.

[Magureanu] At the moment that is the greatest risk.

[Bacanu] You see, AZI once again betrayed the fact that it is receiving information from the Securitate. AZI is coming out with data that can only be found in the files of the Securitate. I ask myself how AZI, ROMANIA MARE, and DIMINEATA manage to get file data from the Securitate? How is it possible?

[Magureanu] At the time, during the period I mentioned, immediately after the December events, it is very possible that [some files] fell into the hands of people outside the institution I was talking about, who laid aside a reserve of such information for the purpose of handing them out to certain publications for purposes of their own.

[Bacanu] Mr. Magureanu, my conscience is clear. I didn't engage in profiteering with cars. Those were cars I had bought 20 years ago formy own use. I did not buy, as they claimed, cars from Ana Muresan. I didn't even know Ana Muresan. I never laid eyes on her in my life. Still, the Securitate had its means of getting files to court, especially since in the past few years all the political trials were turned into common law trials. There was no political trial in recent years.

[Magureanu] But there were also cases to the reverse, when people who committed real crimes... I know of such cases, when people attempted to conceal real crimes, perfectly well featured in the Penal Code, under the aura of dissidence. The issue becomes somewhat confuse in this respect.

[Bacanu] If you know of such situations—but real ones, not hear-say—tell us about them.

[Magureanu] I'll tell you.

[Bacanu] Let me put it differently. What business did they have to take me to the Securitate before I was even questioned at all about the cars business, which occurred three months after I was arrested? What was supposed to be happening with me during that time? Keep me at a sanitarium? What was I doing there? But I don't want to deal with our case. There are so many former political detainees, so many writers whose journals, books, and novels were confiscated. I assume that you would like those files to be studied in about 100 years time.

[Magureanu] What do you think may be useful? A debate on television?

[Bacanu] Anywhere. A public debate with the involvement of all the sides. It could be attended by judicial representatives, sociologists, psychologists, journalists, and—if there were room for all of them—political prisoners.

[Magureanu] They're entitled, too. They're the most entitled, in my opinion. There is a risk in information coming from such sources. This could be followed by a genuine witch hunt and by suspicion, which is already at a dangerous pitch.

[Bacanu] We didn't name the one who betrayed us.

[Magureanu] But the case was notorious.

[Bacanu] No, no one knows.

[Magureanu] And he is still in the same place where he was?

[Bacanu] Yes, he is.

[Magureanu] There have been successive acts of betrayal among the groups that sought to topple Ceausescu. Such betrayals were never fully brought to light. I know of such elements for sure. Precisely those betrayals, unfortunately two within a one year interval... I have to digress again. I had great reservations about publicizing details about my previous activities.

[Bacanu] I noticed...

[Magureanu] I believed and I continue to believe that this is the best attitude. Such activities are a matter of patriotism, not opportunities for bragging. This was my way of breathing at a time when for some people the air had figuratively become impossible to breathe. So I don't owe anything to anyone and no one owes me anything. It was my way. As I said in an entirely private discussion, this was all the more convenient to me as I was inside the citadel, as you know, inside the system. I was one of those who 'benefited' from the communist system in the 1950's, when my mother and father were persecuted. My father was ousted from the party and was even jailed. That was my anticommunist pledge. We don't forget such things. So I tried. But nothing more.

[Bacanu] I, for example, can tell you that I made many statements to the Securitate concerning Mr. Iliescu, without having been in touch with Mr. Iliescu. The same happened with my other colleagues. Our organization and the newspaper ROMANIA looked upon Mr. Iliescu as Ceausescu's successor. Now I think that Mr. Iliescu is making many mistakes. But at the time he was the only personality capable of leading this country. Now he seems rather passe, rather overtaken by events. If he were to grasp this...

[Magureanu] Mr. Bacanu, I think that a dicussion with him and with others who are involved, an equally frank discussions, without any holding back, could make a great contribution toward compensating for certain handicaps.

[Bacanu] If Mr. Iliescu were to grasp a few things—that the truth can no longer be concealed, that democracy is the only route left for Romania, and most of all that he must ask the youth for forgiveness, and if he could also understand the role of the opposition, it would be in his interest and in the interest of the country. The NSF [National Salvation Front] made some great mistakes.

[Magureanu] Very many people joined the NSF with goodwill and faith. They at least are entitled to a credible political image of the new structure. We are also trying to come up with ideas. There are good theoreticians available who can be invited to reorganize everything on social-democratic bases, on the basis of a democratic union, and the people who joined such a union could be better selected.

[Bacanu] With Dan Iosif as a senator?

[Magureanu] Given my position I must be careful about naming names.

[Bacanu] Why did we start talking about Mr. Iliescu? I never for a moment believed in the plot story, because I knew it wasn't possible. If for no other reason then only because of us Mr. Iliescu was shadowed by the Securitate at every step. I want to repeat this, alone because of us he had been watched ever since February 1989. And the only reason was that we had him in mind, theoretically. We didn't talk to Mr. Iliescu, although we worked at a distance of 50 meters from each other. At one point we tried, but we were scared. We wanted to protect him. That was in 1988 and beginning 1989. Given the conditions of the socialist camp,one couldn't pick just anyone in the street and put him at the head of the state. It had to be one of the party activists if Ceausescu was to be replaced at the head of the country. His was the only conceivable name from inside the party. Who else was there? Bobu? In one interview for Radio Free Europe [RFE] Mr. Iliescu said that he knew he was being watched at the beginning of 1989. So he couldn't possibly have become involved in a plot when he knew he was being watched. We know how good the Securitate was at watching people.

[Magureanu] Shortly before I was forcibly sent to Focsani I had a meeting with Mr. Iliescu in the Circus park. It was at the end of March, shortly after the letter of the six. I told him—and he agreed—that as of that time, considering the general trends that were taking shape in East Europe, one could no longer count on the communists, not as a party and in many cases, not even as individuals, to renovate the political structures and pull Romania out of the ceausescu morass. It had become very clear that we could no longer rely on communist-type structures.

[Bacanu] Nor can we rely on them now.

[Magureanu] Now the deed is as good as done in a direction that must never again have anything to do with them.

[Bacanu] The communist structures are very well placed, especially in the provinces. Party activists have reappeared.

[Magureanu] Mr. Bacanu, I think that in this respect we must very seriously consider, in a concerted manner, that this is one of the handicaps that we must absolutely overcome at any cost, regardless of who may be involved, and that we must remove anyone who served the former nomenklatura one way or another, deliberately harming the country. This is a collective task that cannot be carried out unilaterally only by some people, without the cooperation of the others, and not unless it is done in good faith.

[Bacanu] You see, under the effect of public pressure—because otherwise I cannot explain it—the government now looks different. The young members of the government are a different breed. Which means that it was possible! We have people who may not know all the rules of protocol—which are easier to learn than expertise in a given area—may not be extraordinary, may have made some mistakes, too, but are obviously of a different cut than Verdet or Paul Niculescu Mizil.

[Magureanu] That's right.

[Bacanu] There is another problem, namely that of the genocide, which concerns only the days of the revolution. Because Suzana Gadea, for example, can be tried in a let's say, literary trial for cultural genocide. We can bring her case up and make it known that she was condemned by writers and men of culture for what she did. But for the genocide itself? Far be it from me to defend the nomenklatura.

[Magureanu] I fully concur on this, but I would put it differently. I want to tell you that by listening to views on the ceausescu regime and reading a lot of material about totalitarianism I managed to form a coherent enough image even prior to December about the fact that especially in the past few years of the ceausescu regime, the communist regime in Romania was the most atrocious of all regimes and the most perfect totalitarianism. We saw its consequences at least in the last 10 years. There have been some very intelligent commentaries about it on RFE, as well as opinions expressed by various political scientists. However, these things are not sufficiently well known to our public. The implication of the former Political Executive Committee members in the trial that is still underway was wrongly conceived. Theirs was a different crime. Their crime was not that they said to open fire or not to open fire during those days in Ceausescu's presence. That is the shakiest means of implicating them for their real crimes. All those who in one way or another, directly or indirectly, contributed, in keeping with their functions, to the unnatural survival of the Ceausescu regime at least in the past five-ten years, are guilty.

[Bacanu] But the courts need evidence. The clearest evidence is the annual statistic book. One can see how many children starved to death and how many froze to death.

[Magureanu] Old people died in homes completely without any kind of aid or protection. The interesting thing is that those in question became involved in this organized crime—systematically organized in my opinion—by the fact that none of them ever stood up and said 'No'.

[Bacanu] So what would have happened if they had stood up? They would have been ousted from their positions... No one had the courage to oppose Ceausescu.

[Magureanu] I think we can elaborate on this. In our country, these totalitarian structures were becoming increasingly constrictive, rather than diminishing their effect on the population. The situation was exactly the reverse of what was happening in every other country around us. We must remember that this kind of thaw, if not necessarily a separation from totalitarianism, at least a thaw began everywhere, beginning with Bulgaria, perhaps not counting the Albanians who anyway are not a revealing example. In our case the separation caused so many victims and was so painful and brutal because those structures were supported to the very end; this is what makes the nomenklatura guilty and if you like, this is the crime of the Securitate, too. I don't know how many crimes were committed by the Securitate with its own hand, so to speak. Who exactly carried them out? We will have to find that out some day. Here we agree that one day we must come out and specifically state what demonstrable and exact crime was committed by what individual. Not only that. The Securitate as a means of enforcement was the tool that allowed Ceausescu to survive. The Securitate and everyone connected with it. And the former militia. That was the true crime of the Securitate. At the time we attempted to contact some of them, thinking that we could win by neutralizing or attracting some of them to our side. One digression: Iulian Vlad's case. In December he allegedly gave orders that led to the withdrawal of the Securitate. Let's say this was so, although there are doubts about it. I don't want to implicate Iulian Vlad. In a way I'm trying to say that even the Ceausescu case must be reinterpreted in the light of collective guilt. In other words, a head of state who gets to the point of facing a firing squad cannot be the only one, perhaps with his wife, to be guilty. The others were guilty, too. It was not merely an individual crime.

[Bacanu] Except that the guilty heads are too few and the crimes they are accused of are too limited.

[Magureanu] Not to mention that we, too, bear our share of the guilt for having put up with it. Going back to Iulian Vlad's case: Around 1987 if I'm not mistaken, he was appointed head of the State Security Department. One of our people, a man of good standing, wanted to go to Vlad and try to coopt him. Several risks were involved. But Iulian Vlad never received the person in question. We tried to reach him. In his position, had he wanted to he couldn't have helped knowing in what direction the Ceausescu regime was headed. What gesture did Vlad make in recent years to defuse this potential bomb, and on the ohter hand, what gesture did he make to get out of the system? Only when it became clear that everything was lost and only under the pressure of the masses, only then did he realize that the time had come to join the other camp. Anyway, that's my viewpoint.

[Bacanu] They realized that the mass pressure was such that there was nothing they could do.

[Magureanu] Mr. Bacanu, I am prepared to believe that in fact Iulian Vlad was a man with good intentions, smart, and well educated in comparison with the rest of them.

[Bacanu] You're contradicting yourself. If you look carefully at everything he did in the night of the 22d you can see that he issued only unclear orders, nothing concrete, equivocal answers.

[Magureanu] That was his general style. That's not something we should necessarily hold against him. Being the man of the former regime, it was not possible to neatly pigeonhole him because of the mentality.

[Bacanu] Anyway, he could have ordered the Securitate men to cease any activity, if they did anything. What's new about the terrorists?

[Magureanu] Besides, Vlad could have contributed greatly to clarifying the questions remaining about the terrorists during the days of the revolution. His viewpoint could have elucidated much of what happened in connection with the terrorists. The chapter about the terrorists and the crimes of the former Securitate members is still ambiguous. The ideas circulated in various publications about an anticeausescu plot that in the end caused the revolution to be stolen and distorted were nonsense. The strike force of the masses was at its peak then. I want to tell you that one day we will have to make it publicly clear that there was no connection between the old anticeausescu structures, however many they were, the old groups, and the December victory. At one point it was said that the genocide was plotted so that the revolution could be stolen.

[Bacanu] And none of that was true?

[Magureanu] There had been intentions. But at the time of December 1989 there didn't exist anything coherent capable of leading the unleashed mass movement. There are question marks concerning the terrorists: How many came from the outside? Who led them? Who involved them in the events that ensued? There is still no answer to those questions. As you know, there are various scenarios. The detonator of the revolution in Timisoara had the consequences it had in those days. It could have been plotted from outside. Until we have shed complete light we cannot dismiss this possibility either.

[Bacanu] This is the best liked version. Not by the people of Timisoara, and justice is on their side. Let's see, what happened with the Securitate structures and directorates? For example, the Penal Investigation Directorate in Rahovei St.

[Magureanu] We were asked to pass Rahova over to the Prosecutor's Office. We relinquished everything.

[Bacanu] How openly can the RIS work?

[Magureanu] I can give you a concrete example. We are interested in the Cristescu model concerning the efficiency and patriotism of those workers. I have just stated and I will state it again before Parliament that we want to go back to that structure from the viewpoint of the essence of this institution.

[Bacanu] We're not saying that everything should be in plain view. RIS cannot run around like a belled cat. But its intentions should be made known.

[Magureanu] ROMANIA LIBERA has criticized us, through P.M. Bacanu, about openness in connection with those who approach us. We have a headquarters and a listed telephone number through which collaborators—not the other kind of collaborators, we don't need them anymore—can approach us. I agree that RIS should tackle more immediately and uncover the crimes that were committed. I agree with that. But what can you have against the fact that we instructed everyone to make a telephone number available to the public so that anyone can ring us up?

[Bacanu] The way the announcement was worded, it was an invitation to informers.

[Magureanu] It is possible that the text you have in mind may not have been worded too well, I concur with this correction. But from here to accuse us of bad intentions, I think that's too much.

[Bacanu] Mr. Magureanu, how should we interpret the fact that you have restored the position of a RIS officer in charge of the metallurgical industry? Even though his office is no longer at the metallurgical combine...

[Magureanu] And will never be.

[Bacanu] But he goes there and eavesdrops. People are saying that nothing has changed. My personal opinion is that the RIS should not handle economic matters. If there are thefts, that's police business.

[Magureanu] Are you considering that we have also carried out social therapy work? I'll tell you how: by unmasking those who have no business there. At least for now, as long as we still have to struggle against a clandestine bureaucracy that puts up obstacles, with heavily tainted people, as long as there are thefts...

[Bacanu] It's not the business of the RIS... It is police business.

[Magureanu] Do you know how often the police had to rely on our information in order to be able to take measures? Did you know that in matters concerning customs services, thefts from enterprises, the leakage abroad of huge volumes of commodities we were the first ones to sound the warning? And not just any warning. We have prepared a documentary on this subject. It may not be a bad idea to one day have a perspective and realize how many serious and clandestine things are still occurring, from all kinds of black marketeers to direct subversion. Let me tell you about the Oradea case, about Infratirea. Our men did not go to Infratirea, but we were the first to notice what was happening, what could happen there, in the Fagaras, in Tirnaveni, and in other places.

[Bacanu] We'd do better to put up posters at every plant reading: God protect us from accidents. We all know how old and dangerous they are.

[Magureanu] This is a study, an image of how various institutions are working. What can I say?

[Bacanu] I recognized the old style when I read it. This is a swindle that should be investigated by the income tax authority or the police.

[Magureanu] It will be investigated.

[Bacanu] Once again, this is not RIS business. The first thing you should do to gain credibility is to reveal the crimes of the Securitate. I refuse to believe that you don't have Iulian Vlad's diaries, which were kept filed and stamped at the Securitate archives. It should be interesting to find out what orders Iulian Vlad gave and how long he worked for the Securitate. Otherwise he will appear as an innocent victim.

[Magureanu] There is no doubt that Iulian Vlad is being tried outside the real context of his accountability. This will once again bring about a judicial error. One more in a long series.

[Bacanu] Do you feel guilty for the events of 13-15 June?

[Magureanu] We feel no guilt syndrome. The RIS must keep itself at an equal distance. Our role is to provide social protection against anyone who should try any serious acts of destabilization.

[Bacanu] You see, Mr. Magureanu, Romania's tragedy is not destabilization, but isolation. The rulers certainly want to come out of isolation, but they're not doing the right thing for it, namely proving that Romania is on its way to genuine democracy. You talk of real and effective cooperation among the authorities, intellectuals, the youth, and the West. How can the latter agree to talk to the authorities, affected as they were by what they saw in the past few months. That is the reason for our country's isolation in Europe. All that is needed is a public expression of contrition.

[Magureanu] The isolation is definitely oppressive and could expose us to some negative phenomena. But I don't think that we should minimize the efforts you mentioned to overcome the isolation and the suspicions that still mark various relationships in our country. Perhaps it has not yet been managed to achieve sufficient significant contacts to give Romania the world image it deserves. Such contacts inside and outside the country, as well as dialogue, which is a condition for our progress toward democracy, seem to me to be more significant at this point than the repentence you talk about.

[Bacanu] You know what I think? I think that we have a power vacuum. I wonder if the commission that is investigating the 13-15 June events shouldn't investigate President Iliescu himself.

[Magureanu] On 13-15 June there was real extremism out in the streets. The University Square had to be dismantled. We must have a clean square. However, the evacuation plan was a stupid plan. The image of those events must be reevaluated.

[Bacanu] Let us hope, Mr. Magureanu, that next time you will furnish us more concrete data. Still, we thank you.

Trade Bank To Boost Private Initiative, Farming

*AU0612114890 Bucharst ROMPRES in English
1034 GMT 6 Dec 90*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 6/12/1990—The Commercial Bank of Cooperative Credit—Bankoop—was set up to function as a share holding company whose capital stands at 2.5 billion lei. Its shareholders are consumer cooperatives, credit cooperatives, private persons and societies.

The bank intends to stimulate private initiative by granting loans to the companies to be set up and to the agricultural producers who are interested in developing animal breeding, vegetable, tree and vine growing.

Outfit will be purchased in hard currency to re-equip farming and cooperative units, units of the food industry as well as those which can export their products and pay-off their credits.

Commercial Bank Established; President: Ghica

*AU0412091090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
0925 GMT 4 Dec 90*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 4/12/1990—Romania's Commercial Bank-RCB was set up, by splitting from Romania's National Bank (RNB) [BNR]. The new bank has the role to attract the large capital and money supplies existing on the market, that should be used to the advantage of the national economy that will use them in production, and of natural and juristic persons, who receive dividends and interests.

RCB is a society limited by shares with 12,000,000,000 lei subscribed capital, consisting of 2,400,000 shares, 5,000 lei each, and a fund of 40,000,000 US dollars put at its disposal from the hard currency reserve.

For increasing the capital and concentrating the money supply on the market, function of RNB activity, of possibilities and necessities, new shares could be issued to add to the original social capital, equal in value with the initial ones. They will be able to be bought by natural persons in Romania and abroad.

A period of transition is stipulated by the state, during which it is the only share-holder. Until the general assembly of share-holders is formed, its prerogatives are assumed by the council representing the state, grouping together representatives of the Ministry of Finance, Romania's National Bank, Romania's Agency for Promoting Foreign Investments and Economic Assistance, and RCB experts.

RCB president was nominated Ion Ghica, 53 years old, graduate of the Academy of Economic Studies, a director in the National Bank for a couple of years.

New Bucharest Mayor Comments on Housing Problems

*AU0612202090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1940 GMT 6 Dec 90*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 6/12/1990—For next year the Parliament has been presented with the proposal that the Capital City Mayorship should be endowed which would allow it to subsidize, even if to a small extent, priority investment, stated to "DREPTATEA" daily the new mayor general of Bucharest, Mr. Viorel Nicolae Oproiu.

Among other things he referred to the lack of buildings meant for learning. Bucharest needs about 400 more schools while the mayorship's budget could cover some 50 per cent of investments.

As for dwellings, Mr. Oproiu said that the major mutations occurred in that domain of late facilitated numerous abuses. The cessation of building works over the last period led to an aberrant situation. There are about 1,500 flats where people are living without minimal utilities: electricity, heat, water and others.

The fact that numerous blocks of flats under construction have been abandoned causes great losses. We will have to organize ourselves thoroughly to be able to know exactly our technical possibilities, the mayor said, as construction works cannot be stopped.

* Deficiencies in Government's Economic Policy

91BA0118A Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 13 Nov 90 p 3

[Cornel Drinceanu article: "The Four Rabbits in the Theory of Market Socialism"]

[Text] The government has begun the implementation of the reform with the so-called price liberalization designed to start the so-called "market economy" running which, in fact, is still a socialist economy. In reality, through a generalized price increase (which will actually take place in two stages) of dramatic proportions the government hopes to shoot four rabbits with one bullet. First rabbit: Allow state enterprises to become profitable in order to not go bankrupt. Second rabbit: Pick up the disposable money which found its way to the market in the wake of the allowances granted certain categories of employees and the shortage of commodities in the stores. Third rabbit: Blur somewhat the differences between our prices and those practiced in the neighboring countries in order to combat racketeering. Fourth rabbit: Create a false impression that it has abandoned the old communist economic model. Why is this not a liberalization, as the rulers are trying to "explain" to us?

Because in a market economy prices freely find their level in accordance with the relationship between supply and demand, and because almost all the goods are manufactured by private firms, while the state has a monopoly on underground deposits, rail transporation, and post and telecommunications. Consequently, the first condition for price liberalization is precisely the existence of privately owned production capacities. This condition allows them to freely negotiate with other partners. In our country, however, so-called negotiations take place either among state-owned production enterprises, or between state producers and trade networks that also belong to the state, as was the case in the past, too. Paradoxically, the government didn't even wait for the state economic units to be reorganized as autonomous administrations and commercial associations that, according to Law No. 15/1990 can practice among themselves the prices arising from the conjoint action of demand and supply (I think there must have been a mistake in the MONITORUL OFICIAL). But let's see whether the respective law is conducive to transforming the socialist economy into a market economy, namely whether it ensures privatization, which is the first condition for the free operation of prices, as we said above. The answer to this question is given in Article 23 of Law No. 15/1990, which states that 30 percent of the volume of social capital of commercial associations will be turned into stock or social shares that will be freely distributed among all the Romanian citizens. Thus, even in the case of these commercial associations (not to mention the fact that autonomous administrations will be organized not only in strategic sectors but also in other areas decided by the government) the monopoly will continue to be held by the state, i.e., the prices will continue to be set by the state, whereas the stock or share holders will not have any say in decisionmaking.

One question that was raised was whether our government is still communist or not; if we don't apply objective criteria the discussioncan go either way. In our opinion, the problem is very simple, because the type of society one has is determined by the form of ownership of the means of production; our government, however, has not shown signs that it is resolved to take the economy our of the hands of the state.

The prime minister has stated that the price liberalization is envisaged in Law No. 15/1990 (Article 48, as stated above); perhaps, but we know how bills are passed in parliament and who has 66 percent of the votes. We cannot ignore the objective laws of the market, which not only did not bring the capitalist countries to ruin, but even allow them to extend aid to all the former communist countries for their survival. Which means that individual opinions don't count and that we must step in line with the historical world experience of all the other countries, the conclusion of which is unequivocal: We must give up state ownership and only after that can we talk about price liberalization. According to one hypothesis circulated, the government intends to spoil the transition to a market economy so that the leftist forces can seize power and revive the old system. It is certainly one hypothesis, but I don't think that this is still possible, although certain extremist publications are trying to once again give credibility to the idea of the superiority of socialism as the defender of the workers class. The Marxist-Leninist ideas revealed themselves not only as utopic, but also as profoundly false precisely because of the fact that common ownership generates indifference, lack of responsibility, and abuses, in one word, bankruptcy.

The more than 800 economic units that are reporting losses must be carefully examined by the government so that steps can be taken for their recovery. Here we must point out that we do not share the viewpoint stated by the government more than once, that it intended to step aside and let the units take care of themselves, threatening not to extend credit to economic agents that worked at a loss. In that case, the only alternative of those economic units is to close their gates, something that will freeze the economy, considering the fact that certain products are manufactured by only one firm. However, were such a step to be taken it would violate Article 23 of Law No. 15/1990 which stipulates that commercial associations can be subsidized for another four years. As long as the property is in the hands of the state the government is the administrator of the respective property and consequently it must involve itself in resolving all its problems.

The truth is that the government has lost control of the production, which has been systematically dropping since the beginning of the year, and in order to save the ship from sinking, the passengers are being thrown overboard and advised to learn how to swim. The prime minister admitted that "we don't have the financial resources to finance production and investments," and that is clearly the reason that the prices had to be raised. But we mustn't imagine that the money that we will receive as a compensation will suffice to spare us hardship, because in that case there wouldn't be any point in the price increase.

If the state's pockets are empty it may be fairer to effect a monetary stabilization, which would affect only those with a lot of money and spare the needy.

The government must understand and admit one thing: The reform cannot be achieved and the economy cannot be relaunched without foreign aid totaling at least $10 billion in the form of loans repayable within 15 years, modern technologies, establishment of joint companies on the basis of legislation ensuring their protection, etc. And if it cannot secure this kind of aid (and we know why it cannot!) it must publicly own its enormous mistakes and reach its hand out to the opposition, so that together they can find the most painless solutions for the operations needed, because personal interests must undoubtedly make way for the interests of this unfortunate people who do not deserve and mustn't suffer more than they did under the previous regime.

* Draft Law on Liberalization of Wages Explained

91BA0129A Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 21 Nov 90 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Labor Ministry's Adrian Neacsu by Corneliu Carlan; place and date not given]

[Text] A draft bill on wages has been submitted to Parliament. Passages from it were carried in ADEVARUL of 20 November. Essentially, this new law is designed to abrogate the old overly centralized and extraordinarily rigid wage system that no longer corresponds in any way to the new conditions of the transition to a market economy. We asked Mr. Adrian Neacsu, director general of the General Directorate for Wage Policy, Coordination, and Social Protection in charge of wages at the Labor Ministry for some explanations concerning certain aspects of the new bill.

[Carlan] What concept governs the new draft bill?

[Neacsu] Like in any other market economy, the bill promotes the principle of wages freely negotiated between representatives of management and of the employees, based on the company's financial resources. Thus, the new law will not set actual wages, only the means of setting them. Similarly, the bill outlines the role of the state for ensuring social protection for the employees, especially at this new stage, when the liberalization of prices and wages may have extremely undesirable effects, particularly concerning the magnitude of inflation.

[Carlan] Why is the principle of liberalization of negotiated wages apply differently to commercial firms than to the units still directly managed by the state?

[Neacsu] At commercial firms the wage system will be established by the collective work contracts that will be negotiated, while at budget-financed units wages will be established by government-approved statutes in keeping with the specific characteristics of the respective institutions: education, health, basic research, art, culture, state administration, and so forth, as is the practice in every country and as was the case in prewar Romania. The reason for setting wages at those institutions by government-approved statutes is that they are financed from the state budget. Autonomous administrations will establish their pay systems themselves under collective contracts; the same will apply to commercial firms. In the case of certain special autonomous administrations like the post, telecommunications, and railway, since the system planned for commercial firms cannot be applied, wages will be set by statutes as in the case of budget-financed enterprises.

[Carlan] In many situations, because of the uncertain economic situation, the still unforeseeable effects of the price liberalization, and lack of experience in wage negotiation, the wage system will be based merely on assumptions and hopes. Isn't there a danger that some wages will be set too high, thus exerting pressures on costs and prices and encouraging inflation?

[Neacsu] Such a danger is indeed real. However, to preempt such situations, the draft bill suggested that the government should be authorized to intervene in 1991 through a system of economic levers designed to curb tendencies of setting exaggerated wages that can lead to unjustified price hikes. This was done in other countries, too, during certain periods.

[Carlan] What is the purpose of establishing a minimum tariff wage for the entire country?

[Neacsu] The minimum wage—which will be set by the government in keeping with price developments—is intended as a means of social protection regarding wages, in the sense that it obligates any person who hires an employee to pay him for a full work schedule a wage higher than or at least equal to the minimum tariff wage. Consequently, the pay scale of a given enterprise doesn't have to start at the level of the minimum tariff wage, it can start at any other level above the minimum, according to what will be agreed in the respective collective work contract. Thus, the minimum tariff wage in an enterprise can be higher than the current 2,000 lei minimum wage plus 750 lei which is the compensation allocated as of 1 November this year for the price increase. If, for example, the minimum tariff wage were to be set at 3,000 lei rather than 2,000, plus the 750 lei monthly compensation, that may be fine with people who would get 3,750 lei a month for light work not requiring special skills, but it may not be welcome to the entrepreneur who is obligated to pay this kind of wage, in addition to other related expenditures such as payroll tax, social security contribution, and unemployment relief contribution. So the job in question will not be created, even if people were willing to work for less than the minimum wage in the economy, counting probably on income from other sources. Consequently, establishing a high minimum tariff wage for the entire country, especially at this time of transition when we can expedct an increase in unemployment following the restructuring of some of the production units, can make it difficult to find jobs. The government's option concerning the level of the minimum tariff wage must take into consideration every aspect, so that wages should not become an obstacle to finding jobs and thus making a living, instead of being a means of social protection.

[Carlan] How will commercial companies actually proceed in establishing wage criteria?

[Neacsu] Each one will have to use its own judgment, comply with the law, and assume the responsibility for adopting a pay scale that should be sufficiently attractive without harming the interests and profits of the commercial company. Each such company thus has the latitude to establish its own wage system under the collective work contract: its sown tariffs, pay raises, bonus system, and other elements, as it sees fit. The main thing that has to be understood is that the wages agreed upon will be paid solely out of the revenues achieved by the commercial company and in keeping with the work done throughout the duration of the collective work contract, as long as it is in effect. Nevertheless, since there is no precedent in our country for this type of wage payment, we think that it may be useful to hammer out some guidelines for the beginning, featuring several methods of calculating the elements of the wage system, so that each commercial company can select the system that best meets its needs.

And finally I would like to point out that before issuing this draft bill on wages we studied the systems existing in this area in countries with a long tradition of market economy such as France, Germany, Belgium, and Austria and consulted experts from international bodies. We also took into account the views expressed by managers of enterprises, trade union centrals, researchers in this field, and by employees of various enterprises and institutions.

* Report on Meeting of Army Democratization Group

91P20039A Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 13 Nov 90 pp 1, 7

[Sorin Rosca-Stanescu article: "A New Night of the Generals?"]

[Text] On Sunday, the building at Calea Victoriei No. 120 housing the Group for Social Dialog was cramped for space and the question of transferring the participants to the Central Army House was even brought up. Among the hundreds of people present at the dialog sponsored by CADA [Action Committee for the Democratization of the Army], ADM [Action for Military Justice], GAMA [Action Group for the Modernization of the Army] and ADCM [Democratic Associations of Military Cadres] were military cadres, officers and noncommissioned officers from Bucharest, Timisoara, Brasov, Sibiu, Cluj, and other localities, Romanian and foreign journalists, representatives of the Parliament and of veterans' organizations. By the way, there were more than a few attempts to prevent the officers from participating in the first, especially important, meeting of democratic groups in the Army. They were subjected to threats and were the object of discussion in the Higher Army Council.

The dialog lasted almost four hours, so it is not possible to give more than a brief analysis on the different positions expressed. Why did Sunday's dialog arouse such a response among the participants and representatives of the press? The reason is very simple. The political atmosphere in Romania is very much charged; around the Army and the various divergent forces of which it is composed, there has been woven and there continues to be woven an entire series of intrigues in which truths are combined, in a more or less scholarly manner, with untruths. This is not a time to mince words: Many times, rumors about a conflict which is becoming more acute in the Army, capable of taking violent forms, are amplified, and so are rumors about the possibility of a military coup. As long as the situation remains like this, few achievements of the December Revolution are under any great threat. However, the life of the citizens is in danger. Some of the ideas which are circulating deal with the minister of national defense who is supposedly supported by CADA and by other groups and with Vasile Ionel, chief of the General Staff, who is supposedly supported by GAMA and other interest groups, and they even deal with General Militaru, former minister of national defense. It is true that, especially in the period immediately after the 22 December Revolution, when the entire Securitate apparatus was put under its jurisdiction, the Army accumulated extraordinarily great power and it was theoretically possible for it to seize power.

The ambiguity of the position of Colonel General Victor Anastasie Stanculescu raises natural questions among the public in regard to the real intentions of the top leaders of the Army. This is why the meeting of the groups within the Army was not only important but also timely. We are trying to continue our review of the explanations which were given on this occasion. First of all, a number of representatives of CADA spoke, explaining that the respective group could not be dissolved since it represents a state of mind aiming at the democratization of relations in the Army, a view which is shared by a good part of our Army. "We are at the hour of truth"—Lt. Col Silviu Popescu said. "The road which the Army will follow in the future is important to us. During the communist dictatorship, the Army experienced the most profound process of degradation. It was politically subjugated. What is happening today represents only a simulacre of the democratization of the Army. The old structures, changed in December, have been reactivated under different names. Compromised men were transferred to other units so that they would be lost track of and some were even promoted. Orders of the Ministry of National Defense are being issued but are not being implemented. The military press is censored. With the democratization of the Army we do not want the destabilization of the Army. Democratic organizations exist in all the important armies. Let me give some examples: Germany, the United States, France and even the USSR."

Other speakers stressed the fact that the Army was forced to go out on the streets because of the systematic refusal to Ion Iliescu to carry on a dialog. CADA does not have any other purpose than to protect the right of military cadres to oppose abuses of any type. CADA does not conflict with the act of command since it does not have decisionmaking powers. It was stressed insistently that the fact that the Romanian Army joined the revolutionaries in December was not because of the generals who, for the most part, were characterized by cowardice and hesitation, but because of the troops and officers who had the real command. Some of these generals, former members of the communist nomenclatura and of the Central Committee are still in important positions, representing a danger for the stability of the state and for the democratization of the country.

For example, it is not known, even today, who the members of the Higher Council of the Ministry of National Defense are. A review of the promotions which have been given is demanded since it is certain that there have been numerous abuses in this area. Former activists and political officers of the Army continue to monitor the promotion of cadres according to the old criteria consecrated during the Ceausescu era. The discussions revealed that while some circles in the Army are struggling for power other groups are trying to implement modern and democratic principles for action. Major Engineer Ion Ionel stressed an important point: "The Army cannot be made to fight against the people. At the moment in which the forces of the Ministry of the Interior can no longer handle the situation, we are faced with a popular revolt and the Army does not have the right to intervene against unarmed people. Of course, the Army will intervene if armed groups take action on the territory of the country."

The Action Group for the Modernization of the Army (GAMA) aroused animated discussions. Commander Nicolae Radu represented this group. He insisted that GAMA does not represent a phenomenon connected with perestroyka, that GAMA has nothing in common with the KGB, that its image is "ennervated" by the government which urges on different categories, one against the other, and that there is only one solution: "The elimination of all communist structures, both from civil society and from the Army, the democratization of the country." Despite the insistence of the participants, Nicolae Radu refused to give the names of the members of GAMA. It is certain that so long as the members of the respective group are not known to the public, GAMA can be regarded only as an occult force. The gentleman agreed to give an interview to ROMANIA LIBERA which will be published in a future issue. Until then, we are informing our readers that GAMA, at the present time a clandestine organization in the Army, has, according to Radu Nicolae, about 25 officers and NCO's in each regiment in the country. There are still some questions and these were raised by many of the participants in Sunday's meeting. They referred to the way in which this conspiratorial-type of movement directed against the Ceausescu clan was created in the 1980's. This is why the CADA representatives, when the issue of uniting the different democratic groups in the Romanian Army was raised, refused to cooperate with GAMA until the names of its members are made public. Although the statute of the associations in the Army is different from the draft statute presented by CADA, it was agreed that, nevertheless, the associations contribute an organizational framework for action which can be utilized in the future by those who are fighting for military honor and honesty. Taking note, with satisfaction, of the creation of the Civic Alliance, the participants asked for the support of this important forum which is acting to democratize Romania, asking to be included in the Civic Alliance membership lists. The Associations of War Veterans asked to be accepted for membership as a unit.

The curtain of smoke which conceals from the public the agitation at the top of the Romanian Army, which is becoming more acute, persists. And it will remain as long as there is no public dialog between the representatives of democratic groups in the Army and the leadership of the Ministry of National Defense.

Markovic Discusses Political, Economic Reforms

PM0712093490 Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 21 Nov 90 p 2

[Interview with Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic by Fredrik Braconier in Belgrade on 16 November: "Full Democracy Requires a Market Economy"]

[Text] [Braconier] In recent months many people in Yugoslavia, including the president, have spoken about the threat of a civil war. You yourself have warned of disintegration and fratricide. Will Yugoslavia survive?

[Markovic] Yugoslavia has entered into a serious process of reform and has already achieved some positive results. But just like all other reforms, ours are having side effects, and what we are trying to do now is to prevent the side effects from becoming dominant. It is only reasonable to expect a situation like the present one when we move from one system to a completely different system.

This is a period of transformation of a type completely unknown in the world. We cannot rely on examples from others. That is why time is needed. Every system has its own infrastructure, its own institutions and mechanisms. Now we are having to abandon everything that belongs to the old system and build the structures of the new system. Economic changes have already been implemented. This has made possible a convertible currency and reduced inflation.

We have succeeded in creating a market for goods and services, but must still establish other markets which we need—capital and money markets. The main issue that needs to be dealt with now is the question of ownership. This is a prerequisite for the building of a new system and for the creation on this base of new relations within the country. In all this lies the answer to the question of what a future Yugoslavia will look like in both form and substance.

[Braconier] Has the introduction of multiparty elections exacerbated the national antagonisms in Yugoslavia?

[Markovic] To answer "yes" to that question would be to say that the reforms have created problems. The reform process has simply revealed problems, identified them, just as democratization has revealed existing problems such as national tensions. But it has not created them.

The multiparty system made it possible also to express those feelings that have been repressed to a certain extent. Another question is whether there is sufficient harmony between the economic and the political systems, which is indispensable for the implementation of the reforms in an optimum way.

The reforms in the economic system have made it possible to implement changes in the political system, but the fact that the reforms in the political system are now lagging behind has been an obstacle to further application of the economic reforms. All antagonisms have actually come together in the inadequate development of the political system. This means that multiparty elections represent the resolution of the tension in the political system.

[Braconier] You and your government have created your own party. Why?

[Markovic] All the experience of the formerly socialist countries shows that what is dominant in the first step the new democracies take after multiparty elections is dictated by feelings and not by reason. So we have these emotions in play—national, religious, and anticommunist feelings. Then there is a conflict between these feelings and the former communist regimes. These irrational feelings can only be resolved in an emotional way.

That was why we offered a third alternative. An alternative of reforms and reason. On this base everyone would have a new chance. A rational policy, as distinct from a communist or emotionally dictated policy.

[Braconier] Recently there were elections in Macedonia, and now there are going to be elections in Bosnia (the elections in Bosnia took place on 18 November). What results do you need to be able to stay on in the political arena?

[Markovic] These are elections for local authorities, for city and local councils, and for republic assemblies. What is relevant for us here is the federal elections whose date has yet to be determined. However, it goes without saying that if you want political strength you have to have a local base.

[Braconier] But are these elections not a sort of referendum showing the amount of support for the policies of the federal government?

[Markovic] Yes, to an extent. Of course the results are important. In Macedonia the first round results show that the reformist alliance and the restructured communists—in practice reform-minded socialists who accept the policies of the federal government—won about the same number of votes and together had the greatest share of the vote. If the reformist alliance had not taken part in the elections the nationalist parties would have won. The federal government's reform program will receive support in practice, as it were, from the referendum in Macedonia.

[Braconier] You have been prime minister and president of Croatia. What is your view of the republics' leaderships today and what do you think, as a former representative of Croatia, of the present government in Zagreb?

[Markovic] I take the view that the present multiparty elections are still not an expression of full democratization. The right preconditions have not been created. This applies not only to the elections in Slovenia and Croatia, but to the whole of Yugoslavia. The structure of ownership has not changed, and if we do not change it we cannot identify interests. It will be not rational, but irrational interests that rule.

Moreover, one or two multiparty elections will be held in Yugoslavia before a new structure of ownership has been set up, before interests that could play a political role have been identified, and before forces that are an expression of these interests have been formed. As long as the economic structure and the structure of ownership remain unchanged they will give rise to an unchanged political structure, and this applies to all countries, not just Yugoslavia.

[Braconier] You have linked together the market economy and democracy, and the West's classic criticism of the communist system was that a market economy is needed to achieve real democracy. Do you agree?

[Markovic] That is precisely my view. The one is a precondition for the other. Until real changes take place in the economy, until the market has developed, and until new interests have been identified on the basis of ownership we will not have really democratic elections.

[Braconier] You touched on the Kosovo conflict in your speech in the Federal Assemlby and, as you know, the conflict has attracted much attention internationally. Has the federal government any real influence over the situation in Kosovo, or is it only the Serbian Government's decisions that which mean anything?

[Markovic] At present the federal government has little influence. The federal government is at least trying to exert some influence to sort out the crisis there. A real solution to the crisis in Kosovo is very difficult from the material, economic, and developmental viewpoints. Birth rates in Kosovo are the highest in Europe and, statistically, each family has 6.7 children.

Can you imagine what development is needed and what growth rate is required to meet such needs?

What we need to do is to liberate the potential resources that exist in Kosovo so that they can manage the situation themselves. The reforms and democratization ought to make it possible for all the inhabitants of Kosovo to actively involve themselves in solving the problems. By developing a new system and a parliamentary democracy, the federal government is actually intervening in every part of the country, including Kosovo.

[Braconier] Is it possible in the long run to deny the Albanian majority in Kosovo the right to form their own republic? What would it mean to Yugoslavia if Kosovo had to be permanently ruled using extraordinary methods?

[Markovic] I think that this is an irrational question. If we proceed from individuals' sovereignty and citizens' freedoms and rights, this is precisely how self-rule will be established. It will be the only way.

Kosovo is also a question of international law. Can there be two republics with the same sort of population at the same time? Look at East and West Germany. This would therefore mean the establishment of an Albanian republic in Yugoslavia and changes to Yugoslavia's borders. What effect would that have on Europe? Can a national minority somewhere establish its own state? Kosovo must have a large degree of autonomy, but this is not the same as a republic.

[Braconier] Are there any political prisoners in Yugoslavia?

[Markovic] Very few.

[Braconier] Your economic reform program has stabilized the dinar, made it more or less convertible, and Yugoslavia now has a large currency reserve. You generally talk about $10 billion. Inflation has been forced down. But, with the new economic oil crisis and the severe drought which affected your country so badly this summer, will future developments not include new inflationary tendencies and at the same time a fall in production?

[Markovic] The implementation of the economic program—in particular the adaptation to a market economy—includes the closure of enterprises which are unable to survive. In fact it can be said that the decline to this point in production has been less than might have been expected in view of our economic structure. This is in part a consequence of the fact that our economy is more adaptable than those of other socialist countries. It is political causes that have halted the reforms.

[Braconier] Can you honestly advise foreigners to invest in Yugoslavia, keeping in mind the current political crisis?

[Markovic] I always speak honestly and am also doing so in this interview. Elections will be held soon, so all these tensions ought to be reduced to a more normal level. However, I must add that the crisis in the Middle East has hit us badly. Losses amount to around $3 billion. However, the international community has not given us a single cent in aid. As you pointed out, the drought has also had a serious effect on us, with damage totalling almost $2 billion.

Our system can adapt itself to these misfortunes, too. An economy that can withstand all these blows and remain on its feet and produce all the results that I mentioned earlier speaks for itself.

[Braconier] Can other countries or organizations—the EC, for example—do anything to stabilize the political situation in Yugoslavia? What should they not do?

[Markovic] There are a number of things that they can do. I mentioned the fact that the crisis in the Middle East has cost our country a great deal and that we have not received any help in this respect from any country or international organization. We have implemented all the UN resolutions very strictly. We asked the Paris Club to be allowed to rearrange our loans. The Paris Club replied that you have excellent currency reserves and do not need revised terms.

However, we need our currency reserves to preserve liquidity and the convertibility of our currency. We cannot use them for these other purposes. Both this year and next we will have to use substantial resources to continue the policy of reform. The process of restructuring enterprises takes time as well as money. We will use the money that we received from EFTA [European Free Trade Association]. But that was only $100 million. We need at least $2-2.5 billion next year alone.

[Braconier] A final question: During the changes in Eastern Europe some people have talked about the so-called Swedish model as an example worth following. What do you associate with this concept and is there anything in it for Yugoslavia?

[Markovic] Many people have found Sweden's experience very useful. Sweden has shown that it is possible to seek optimum economic efficiency, a society based on law, pluralism, and a social welfare state. This is probably mankind's most difficult problem when seeking to develop society. That is why Sweden's experience is valuable for others.

Inflation Drops to 4-Year Low of 118 Percent

LD0512232190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1950 GMT 5 Dec 90

[Text] Belgrade, December 5 (TANJUG)—This year's inflation of about 118 percent will be the lowest in Yugoslavia in the past four years, Deputy Federal Secretary for Trade Dr Branko Maricic told a press conference in Belgrade today.

The Yugoslav Government bases this prediction on the slowed growth of inflation in November—when retail prices went up three percent—and a planned December inflation of between one and two percent. If these prognoses are realized, the new year will be met with a 20-percent inflation.

According to Maricic, this is a very good result, since last year's inflation ended with 286.9 percent.

Inflation in Yugoslavia in late November this year against December of 1989 was 115.9 percent with an average monthly rate of 7.2 percent, Maricic said.

The Yugoslav Government of Prime Minister Ante Markovic had promised that the program of liberalization of prices, [word indistinct] and the freezing of the rate of exchange of the national currency would bring inflation down to about 13 percent this year. It failed to live up to this promise, so that it is now criticized officially and unofficially from practically all parts of the country.

The government claims that the higher-than-planned inflation growth was caused by excessive spending and lack of financial discipline, and it accuses the republican authorities of "undermining" the adopted economic policy.

Maricic, however, stressed that the "results of the government measures are good," and would have been better, he said, if all the segments of the agreed macroeconomic policy had been respected.

According to Maricic, the Federal Government plans an annual inflation of 20 percent in the year 1991, but does not intend to realize this goal through any special "shock therapy."

Government Place Republics' Debt at 4.2 Billion

LD0712125290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1209 GMT 7 Dec 90

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Dec (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government said on Friday [7 December] that the republics owe the federal budget 4.2 billion dinars (around 350 million dollars).

As announced, Slovenia and Serbia owe the most to the federal treasury, but other republics have also not been regular in paying their contributions from taxes to the federation.

The government has announced that it will shortly propose measures which will no longer make it possible for the republics to withhold their payments to the federal budget.

Slovenia was the first to reduce its regular payments to the federal treasury, and was later followed by Serbia. The Croatian Government has also announced that it will reduce its contribuitons.

Belgrade Journalists Demand TV Officials Resign

LD0612181990 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1644 GMT 6 Dec 90

[Text] Belgrade, 6 Dec (TANJUG)—Journalists of the Belgrade media rallied today outside the Serbian republican parliament building, demanding the resignations of Belgrade Television General Director Dusan Mitevic and editor-in-chief of the television's news department Predrag Vitas.

The journalists claimed that the editorial team blocks true and objective public information and manipulates facts.

Opposition parties claim that the ruling party is intensively using its monopoly on the media in the first postwar multiparty election campaign in the biggest Yugoslav republic of Serbia, which is drawing to an end.

The Belgrade journalists have also sent a protest letter to the Serbian parliament, whose vice-president Slobodan Janic promised them that their demands would be discussed at the very next parliamentary session.

Serbia Applies For Mulinational Group Membership

AU0612153290 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 6 Dec 90

[Text] Serbia has applied for membership in the Community of European Regions [Zajednica evropskih regija] and to join in all forms of the Community's activity as a full member.

Taking part in the general debate in Paris late last night, after thoroughly explaining political, economic, and democratic processes which are under way in the republic, Stanko Radmilovic, president of the Serbian Executive Council, formally submitted Serbia's request to be admitted as member of the group,.

Radmilovic pointed out in particular that free multiparty elections will be held in Serbia on 9 December which would mean that one of the basic conditions to be admitted as a member will be met.

According to the Community's set procedure, the Bureau of the Conference is obliged to reply to the demand within 60 days.

Serb Renaissance Movement Member Killed in Vranje

Socialist Party Member Accused

LD0612141590 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 6 Dec 90

[Text] The first murder has occured during the election campaign in Serbia. A member of the Serbian Renaissance Movement [Srpski Pokret Obnove] was shot in Vranje while putting up posters. A member of the Serbian Socialist Party allegedly fired at and killed him. This was stated at today's news conference in Belgrade, which was organized by opposition parties.

United Opposition Holds News Conference

LD0612172590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1501 GMT 6 Dec 90

[Text] Belgrade, 6 Dec (TANJUG)—A Serbian united opposition news conference, envisaged to point out irregularities surrounding voting dates, took an unexpected turn.

Vuk Draskovic, leader of the Serbian Renaissance Movement, just received a message which he read to journalists. The message states: "Slobodan Ivanovich (30), a member of the Serbian Renaissance Movement, was shot dead in the back by four bullets while putting up party posters."

Visibly shaken, Vuk Draskovic asked everyone to pay respect to the deceased with a minute of silence and then announced a news conference for domestic and foreign journalists regarding this. Drawing attention to the message, he cautioned that it looks as if there will be no election silence. Ivanovic was killed by Rade Aleksic, an active member of the Serbian Socialist Party, Draskovic said, citing the message.

Journalists received the latest election bulletin signed by the leaders of the Democratic Party, the Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative, the Serbian Renaissance Movement, and others. To be able to control the elections in Serbia, the opposition demands that the voting take place only on 9 December. Leaders of opposition parties claimed that the instruction of the Serbian Election Commission "allowing voting to take place on 8 December in special circumstances" is contravening the electoral laws.

They also protested at "the abuse of state post on the part of Borisav Jovic and Slobodan Milosevic during the election campaign" and at, as they put it, "police ban on regularly registered final Serbian Renaissance Movement rally at Republic Square, in Belgrade," scheduled for today.

Opposition demands that all ideological insignia, such as photographs of former and present officials, be removed from polling stations.

The decision taken by Belgrade Television's editorial staff, not to allow the Worldwide Alliance of Serbs [Savez Svih Srba Sveta] to produce its television promotion this evening (it was envisaged that leaders of all major parties would participate in the program) was assessed as "an arbitrary decision of television dictators and leaders of the Serbian Socialist Party."

Socialists Deny Assassin Party Member

LD0612181490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1650 GMT 6 Dec 90

[Text] Vranje, 6 Dec (TANJUG)—The Executive Committee of the Vranje branch of the Serbian Socialist Party [SPS] issued a statement today denying that Radomir Aleksic, suspected of killing Serbian Renaissance Movement activist Slobodan Ivanovic last night, is a SPS member.

Here is the statement: "We express our deep grief over this tragic event. We categorically assert that murderer Radomir Aleksic is not, nor has ever been a SPS member. We condemn most sharply the use of this murder for political aims. The Executive Council of the SPS Vranje branch calls on all citizens and parties to keep calm and be tolerant; both of these qualities we need in the first free, multiparty democratic elections."

Exiled Monarch Sends Election Message to Serbia

AU0612195790 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Dec 90 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Congratulations on Wisdom"]

[Text] The pretender to the throne, Aleksandar Karadjordjevic, has asked BORBA to publish his message to all participants in the first postwar multiparty elections in Serbia which are to be held in four days time.

The message says:

"I sincerely congratulate all leaders of the political parties in Serbia and all politicians for having wisely chosen the healthy road to democracy. I am happy that an agreement was reached for the honest implementation of the elections on 9 December 1990. These elections are a very important turning point on the road to democracy. Our citizens expect the elections to be held in peace and order.

"It is our duty as responsible nations to respect human rights, religion, nationality, and traditions. We must fully adhere to the principles of democracy by respecting the opposition. We must advocate mature and constructive dialogues among all elected leaders and parties. After 9 December, I expect only a positive approach to the resolution of problems which relate to the future of our country. The elected government will have to act wisely and responsibly, and this can only be achieved through a healthy policy and talks.

"I will fully support the elected government and take care that the democratic process is preserved. It is my intention to make it possible for talks to be held peacefully while respecting what has so far been achieved.

"The political and economic future of our country is important: we cannot survive in isolation and division. The future of the economy is founded on the free market, creative initiative, and invention. This requires a healthy economic policy but this assumes a healthy and constructive political base.

"I wish success to all the candidates and I want to remind them that the constitutional monarchy which I advocate and which is successful in eight western countries in Europe will always be a friend, the center of agreements, the place of unification, defender of the Constitution, and the guarantee of the state's continuity. The constitutional monarchy and democracy go hand in hand and are a prerequisite for success. Finally, I send greetings to all our clever and brave people regardless of their political affiliation.

"Long live Serbia!"

Serb Broadcasting of Candidates' Platforms Viewed

AU0712094790 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 4 Dec 90 p 3

[Momcilo Stojanovic report: "Preelection Television Games"]

[Text] Like everywhere in the world, television has become the most important medium for a political struggle in our country, too. In the election race in Serbia, the numerous parties have been presenting themselves to the voters for days, and the presidential candidates began their promotions on Saturday. According to the electoral law, each party has received an hour and a half of programing on (state) television and the presidential candidates have each received an hour. While the parties present themselves on the first channel, candidates for the head of Serbia appear on the second channel of Belgrade Television.

Tired Viewers

Initially greeted with considerable interest, the party promotions on the small screen have, as the evenings have gone by, already tired out the viewers. This is not surprising, because the list contains 50 parties which probably include parties which have only 100 members, the number necessary for registration. Somewhat greater interest is, therefore, only awakened by the biggest parties, like the Serbian Renewal Movement (of Vuk Draskovic), the Democratic Party (of Dragoljub Micunovic), and, of course, the Socialist Party of Serbia (of Slobodan Milosevic). While Vuk Draskovic used his time to complain to his sympathizers about how shameful it was that the Serbian Renewal Movement also received an hour and a half along with all the small parties rather than him and Slobodan Milosevic meeting face to face and crossing swords, Slobodan Milosevic—behaving above all like the president of the Presidency of Serbia—not only has not accepted Vuk Draskovic as an interlocutor, but not once has he appeared on the small screen in the capacity of party leader.

He was not around when his party promoted its program, nor did he appear on Saturday, at the time allotted to him as presidential candidate. The day before, the television announced that Milosevic had given his slot up to a relay of the commemoration of the Kolubar battle from the Sava Center, which was explained by the fact that he had already presented his program to the viewers.... Indeed, only 10 days previously, he had spoken at a great meeting in Nis and soon after that in Kragujevac, with a live television relay of both occasions.

Complete Nonentities

The fact that it was good that he distanced himself from this society could be seen from the very course that the television promotions by the presidential candidates have taken. Their hour-long slots started last Saturday, and six candidates appear every evening. There will be a total of 32! Who, of all of these, did not feel able to lead the Serbian people in the next multiparty era? The great majority of them are complete nonentities. The question is whether they are even known in their towns and villages and even their local communities. They include a brush maker, a driving instructor, and all sorts of people. Thus, apart from all the publicly-acclaimed democracy, the promotion of the presidential candidates also has a definite non-inconsiderable dose of irony. The promotions by some presidential candidates have even become their own kind of humorous television program. This was also mentioned by one of the presidential candidates (the candidate of the Radical People's Party), adding that it was unacceptable and ironic that the authorities had set only six days for the presidential campaign. What can be done in so many days, he asked, and, in order himself to adapt to "television parody," he began to speak half-seriously and joke about his position as the "future" president.

Entertainment Program

Despite of the seriousness of the times, the party and presidential slots on Belgrade Television turned into optional entertainment programs. Television is suited to various games, particularly those "without frontiers," so that even these preelection programs in Serbia have very easily been turned into these.

Serbian Democratics Favor 'Healthy Competition'

AU0612144390 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Dec 90 p 2

[Interview with Serbian Democratic Party President Dr. Dragoljub Micunovic by Cvijetin Milivojevic; place and date not given: "A Shift Toward Democracy"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] According to all estimates, the Democratic Party of Serbia [SDS] is considered to be one of the three strongest parties in Serbia today. The membership, which "is unfortunately not a million-strong membership, as is the case with many other parties," is spread between 150 local committees which will put forward 180 deputy candidates at the next elections. This party, however, is one of the few parties that does not have its "favorite" for the post of the president of Serbia....

"Some People link our decision not to nominate a presidential candidate to our delegation's unsuccessful talks with Prince Tomislav [Karadjordjevic]. The truth," however, Professor Micunovic said, "lies somewhere else. The Prince was supposed to be a nonparty candidate. The reason behind our decision to abandon 'the race for the president' lies in the fact that we are, in principle, against this kind of presidential system and the Constitution which provides a president with autocratic powers. There has been enough of the rule of one person. The democratic recovery of society requires a shift to the other side. The president should be left only with ceremonial duties because this country has neither 200 year old democracy nor the mechanism of social institutions (like France or the United States) which would prevent abuse."

We Are Not Promising the Impossible

[Milivojevic] Who will your potential voters then vote for?

[Micunovic] This is already a question of practical politics. We will support the candidates of the opposition, depending on how close we are with some parties and on their readiness to support our candidates in the second round because the opposition will be forced to reach some kind of agreement for the second round of voting.

[Milivojevic] Does this mean that all speculations—which were particularly substantiated by the fact that the final decision on whether to enter the election or not was announced by opposition parties individually—about a "silent war" between the strongest opposition parties are not true?

[Micunovic] Healthy competition must exist, otherwise we would not enter the elections as different parties. The opposition bloc, however, must remain united to the end, because we have the same aim—to bring down the current authoritarian authorities.

[Milivojevic] Assuming that this happens and that the SDS becomes one of the stronger parties in the future parliament—what will you not promise to the citizens of Serbia?

[Micunovic] First of all, we are not promising anything to our citizens that we are not able to do. We promise the methods with which we believe we can carry out reforms, thus not only aims and wishes that Serbia become a modern, democratic, and rich country. Everybody is promising this, but we have cadre and institutions for the transformation of the totalitarian state with a neglected economy and society into a modern state. If we assume power but do not fulfill our promise, people are there to replace us.

[Milivojevic] Serbian people or citizens of Serbia? What is the stand of your party whose name does not bear a "Serbian" attribute but nevertheless has a clear national program?

[Micunovic] We are not, as is commonly said, a national party, in either the positive or negative sense, simple because the democratic parties in Serbia never had the "Serbian" precursor. They use to rally its members around some common political principles and interests. The situation with the parties in Slovenia and Croatia, which under the Austro-Hungarian Empire boasted their national affiliation, is different. Then, we do not want to exhaust our program with national issues. We are placing democracy in the focus. We think that the Serbian national question can in fact most effectively be solved in the democratic way. Third, we are a national party and are equally Serbian and patriotic as any other party, but we are also a modern, democratic party which does not take the view that people can be treated as labels, but as people, who beside national, also have citizens' interests.

Yugoslavia As Interest

[Milivojevic] In what kind of Yugoslavia can its citizens satisfy their interests?

[Micunovic] We strive for a democratic federation, a modern federation with citizens as political subjects. The federal parliament would have two houses—the Chamber of Citizens and the Chamber of Peoples. All most important ethnic questions would be discussed by the Chamber of Peoples, as in all complex countries in the world. [passage omitted]

Markovic Urges Serbs To Cast Votes for Unity

LD0612073190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2354 GMT 5 Dec 90

[Text] Belgrade, December 5 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia is on the best way to show the Eastern European countries by its own example how one can, "with the least of sacrifices and at the lowest of prices, go over from one system to another," Yugoslav Premier Ante Markovic said here this evening.

Markovic addressed at the Belgrade Trade Union Center the pre- election joint convention of his union of reform-minded forces and the Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative (UJDI). The two parties have jointly brought forward their candidates for the president of Serbia and deputies to Serbia's republican parliament at the first postwar multiparty elections in Serbia scheduled for December 9.

In Markovic's estimate, despite all "children's diseases of pluralism," the forthcoming elections open room for establishing new relationships in Yugoslavia.

Alluding to victories won by nationally-oriented parties at elections held so far in Yugoslavia's republics, Markovic said that one cannot rule with the help of "emotions and irrationalities and still less solve problems."

When euphoric feelings are gone what one lives on remains—rational interests, the federal premier said calling on voters to, while voting for Serbia, cast their votes for Yugoslavia as well.

Serb Renaissance Rally Draws 10,000 Supporters

LD0612173290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1628 GMT 6 Dec 90

[Text] Belgrade, 6 Dec (TANJUG)—The final election rally of the Serbian Renaissance Movement at Republic Square, in Belgrade, was attended, as estimated, by more than 10,000 people.

The rally has turned into a protest over the murder of Slobodan Ivanovic, from Vranje, a Serbian Renaissance Movement member.

Vuk Draskovic addressed the rally, for which it was uncertain whether it is banned or not. In the most strongly worded speech yet, Draskovic accused the Serbian Socialists of an unscrupulous election campaign aimed at keeping them in power at any cost.

Having warned that the ruling party is prepared to use any trick to ensure as many votes as possible and having claimed that he was informed an assassination plot against him exists and that he is not afraid and is not wearing a bulletproof vest, as he was advised, Draskovic called on his party supporters to endure to the very end:

"On a December, we will breach the strongest wall of bolshevism,: Draskovic said. He was greeted by shouts: "Red Serbia," "Down with Communists," "We will protect you, Vuk," and "Serbia has risen."

The Serbian Renaissance Movement leader finished his speech with "Victory is ours" and "Serbia cannot be appeased anymore," and with the message: "They have Tito's generals and tanks, and we ballot papers."

Following a minute of silence for the deceased, Slobodan Ivanovic, priest Ljubomir Rankovic delivered a requiem, ending the rally.

Reform Coalition in Serbia Meets, Urges Votes

LD0712102890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1810 GMT 6 Dec 90

[Text] Novi Sad, 6 Dec (TANJUG)—The Reform Coalition of Vojvodina [Reformska Koalicija Vojvodine] considers itself the strongest political force in this northern province of Serbia. This is the conclusion of the 6 December joint convention of the Alliance of Reform Forces of Yugoslavia for Vojvodina, the Democratic Alliance of Croats in Vojvodina, the Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative, the Slovak Society, the League of Social Democrats of Vojvodina and Yugoslavia, and the Vojvodina forum, held in Novi Sad.

In the crowded hall of the arena cinema, a last call was sent to voters on the eve of the 9 December elections to vote for the Reform Coalition and its candidate for republican President Ivan Djuric.

The public presentation of candidates for deputies for Novi Sad was also attended by chairman of the Alliance of Reform Forces of Yugoslavia for Serbia, Vojin Dimitrijevic, and member of the alliance's main committee and vice-president of the Federal Executive Council, Aleksandar Mitrovic.

Serbian Presidential Aide on Policies, Separatism

AU0712135190 Vienna AZ in German 7 Dec 90 p 5

[Interview with Rados Smiljkovic, professor for political sociology at Belgrade University, former chief of the Belgrade Communist Party, and one of Slobodan Milosevic's personal aides, by unidentified reporter; place and date not given: "Another Party"]

[Text] [Reporter] You have your luxurious office on the 10th floor of the former Central Committee building in New Belgrade. Is the new Socialist Party that you represent now simply a case of fraudulent labeling?

[Smiljkovic] We are objectively another party. We feel close to the social democratic parties of Europe.

[Reporter] What are the social democratic features of your party?

[Smiljkovic] Our program and party statutes differ from those of the former communist party.

[Reporter] Is that all?

[Smiljkovic] The identity of state and party no longer exists.

[Reporter] What are the most important objectives of the Socialist Party of Serbia?

[Smiljkovic] We are in favor of federalism. The peoples of Yugoslavia cannot split up since no ethnic delimitation is possible. The borders of the republics were never intended to be state borders, but administrative borders.

[Reporter] In the northern republics of Slovenia and Croatia people talk of a "political asymmetry" within Yugoslavia. However, this is to say that Yugoslavia has already fallen apart.

[Smiljkovic] It is true that the federal institutions do not work. Everywhere in Europe the borders are torn down, only in Yugoslavia new ones are to be created. This is absurd.

[Reporter] How will Serbia react if Slovenia decides to leave Yugoslavia?

[Smiljkovic] If others do not accept the federation, we will also raise the question of borders. You know what I mean.

[Reporter] A greater Serbia?

[Smiljkovic] Yes.

[Reporter] What is your opinion on the increasingly explosive Kosovo problem?

[Smiljkovic] We integrated Kosovo geographically. I do not have more to say.

Preelection 'Silence' Begins in Serbia

LD0712073990 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0603 GMT 7 Dec 90

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Dec (TANJUG)—A pre-election silence started in the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia exactly at midnight, between Thursday and Friday [6 and 7 December]. It will continue until Sunday evening, when the polling places are closed. All the political parties have halted their public promotions and pre-election campaigns.

Some 6.9 million voters will cast votes for the election of 250 deputies at over 9,500 polling places.

The polling places and an area of 50 meters surrounding them cannot have any party symbols. The first post-war multi-party elections in Serbia will begin at 7 a.m. [0600 GMT] on Sunday, December 9.

Election Campaign Ends

AU0712092790 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 7 Dec 90

[Text] Serbian political parties have finished their presentation and election campaign. The so-called campaign blackout will last from last midnight until the time when polling stations are closed on Sunday [9 December] evening.

Let us repeat the report of the Republican Electoral Commission that more than 6,800,000 citizens of Serbia will vote on Sunday for 250 seats in the parliament and the president of the republic.

Voters will use two ballot papers, a blue one with candidates for president of the republic and a white one to vote for people's deputies.

Serbian, Montenegrin Election Campaigns Compared

AU0612185690 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Dec 90 p 2

[V. Simonovic report: "The Two Eyes Are Cross-Eyed"]

[Text] Titograd—The "two eyes in one head," as the Serbs and Montenegrins are called by the national parties, will elect new authorities on the same day, 9 December. The ruling and opposition parties in these two republics did not kick off the election campaign from the same positions and even the obstacles facing them have been different in many ways.

In contrast to the Serbian opposition, the opposition in Montenegro had considerably fewer problems with electoral legislation and has also had more access to Titograd television, now Television Montenegro. There have, of course, been similarities—from the disruption of promotions by certain parties to support for the ruling parties in the republican daily newspapers.

Even in formulating the electoral legislation the ruling party in Montenegro—the League of Communists of Montenegro—was considerably more indulgent toward the opposition. It immediately accepted the demand of the opposition that the electoral commissions be made up of representatives of several parties, which was only done in Serbia when the opposition threatened to boycott the elections.

As is the case in Serbia, the opposition in Montenegro has not received funds for its election campaign. The only exception has been in the Herceg Novi Commune where the communal Assembly has earmarked 25 billion old dinars for each party registered in this commune, although they will not receive the funds until after the elections are over.

The presentation of parties on television in Montenegro was much more democratic than in Serbia. Thus, apart from an hour-long program in which the parties presented themselves, Television Montenegro also organized a television forum in which the leaders of all parties took part. Among other things, they replied to questions of potential voters. These programs also included the leaders of the ruling party, which was not the case in Serbia.

Television Montenegro also organized the presentation of presidential candidates, and this was done in a discussion program. However, only Momir Bulatovic, candidate of the League of Communists, and Dr. Novak Kilibarda, candidate of the People's Party took part in the first promotion, while Dr. Ljubisa Stankovic, candidate of the Alliance of Reform Forces of Yugoslavia, offered the excuse of prior engagements to justify his absence. It is assumed that before the campaign blackout begins, the television will organize another program in which the presidential candidates will come face to face.

The television also gave a lot of time to the candidates for members of the Presidency of Montenegro: 14 candidates presented their manifestos in two discussion programs.

What the television could not manage, Montenegrin Radio has done. The three presidential candidates were gathered together in the studio. The radio in Montenegro is the most open section of the media. If the television can be said to somewhat support the ruling parties, then this can in no way be attributed to this part of the media.

The main or only information-political newspaper in Montenegro, POBJEDA, was subject to criticism from the opposition parties, and some parties refused to cooperate with it in any way. The opposition accuses this daily of being pro-communist and populist.

In POBJEDA, one can read reports about promotions by almost all parties, but it is also obvious that it is a fan of the ruling party.

Just as in Serbia, the most attacked party has been the Alliance of Reform Forces of Yugoslavia: the Communists and the populists excel in this. The Alliance of Reform Forces also had the biggest problem with organizing promotional meetings, which also holds true for Serbia. Quite a large group of Communists disrupted a meeting in Niksic and there were similar attempts in Danilovgrad while the party was banned from holding their promotional meeting in the open air in Bijelo Polje. In Virpazar, party members were not even allowed to eat.

The People's Party also had problems organizing promotional meetings and the excesses also came from the Communists in Zabljak, Andrijevica, and Golubovce near Titograd... Communists, or someone else, did not allow the Alliance of Reform Forces, and later the Democratic Party, to hang up a banner between the Central Committee building and the post office which had "Communism for the Communists" written on it.

Parties Running in Montenegrin Elections Profiled

AU0412212890 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 1-2 Dec 90 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Who Is Running in the Montenegrin Elections"]

[Text]**League of Communists of Montenegro (Momir Bulatovic, president of the Central Committee Presidium)**

Aims: A democratic struggle for humanist ideas of socialism.

Economy: The party strives for the pluralism of property and for different property to compete on equal footing.

Social policy: Every citizen should enjoy the minimum level of social protection.

Ecology: The party strives for the ecological planning of development.

Yugoslavia: It should be a unified, democratic, and efficient federation.

International affairs: Integration in Europe and the development of own identity within this framework.

Alliance of Reform Forces for Montenegro (Dr. Ljubisa Stankovic, president of the republican committee)

Aims: The economic and democratic reintegration of Yugoslavia.

Economy: The party supports the program of the Federal Executive Council.

Social policy: Members of the party strive for an acceptable level of material protection of families and individuals.

Ecology: Ecologically healthy economic development.

Yugoslavia: The party strives for a new democratic agreement among all republics and their citizens.

International affairs: Integration in Europe.

People's Party (Dr. Novak Kilibarda, president)

Aims: Spiritual unification and moral renaissance of Serbianism.

Economy: The party strives for free private initiative and the transformation of social into public and private property.

Social policy: Social aid and supplements should satisfy the minimum social needs.

Ecology: The party is against the import of dirty technology and demands openness of information regarding ecology.

Yugoslavia: It favors a referendum. In case only Serbia and Montenegro want to remain in Yugoslavia, the party would be in favor of a federal state of these two republics.

International affairs: The party is in favor of strengthening ties with traditional allies (Russia, France, the United State, Greece, Italy, and so forth)

Democratic Party (Zarko Stanovcic, president of the Main Committee)

Aims: The development of a modern capitalist state.

Economy: The transformation of the socialist into market economy.

Social policy: The party would like to see social institutions in competition with other institutions so that they do not become a source of theft or generate bureaucracy.

Ecology: Openness of data concerning ecological issues and a law against dirty industry.

International affairs [as published]: The party is oriented toward Europe.

Yugoslav People's Party (President Rade Bojovic)

Aims: Human community in which respect, freedom, and dignity will represent fundamental social values.

Economy: The party strives for all forms of ownership and an open economy.

Social policy: The party strives for social justice.

Ecology: The party considers environmental protection a prime objective.

Yugoslavia: Undivided, federal, with the republican form of government.

International affairs: The party is in favor of all political processes aimed at removing state borders and unification of Europe and the world.

Christian Democratic Party (President Predrag Popovic)

Aims: Cosmopolitanism.

Economy: It wants to see Montenegro become a kind of tax-fee zone.

Social policy: It favors projects aimed at social and health protection.

Ecology: Montenegro should become the first ecological state in the world.

Yugoslavia: The party strives above all for a community of peoples in Montenegro and for togetherness with the Serbian and Yugoslav peoples.

International affairs: The party strives to have capital and technology imported from countries that do not border Montenegro.

Socialist Alliance (President Novica Vujovic)

Aims: Democratic socialism.

Economy: The party wants to economically stimulate the propulsive branches of the economy.

Social policy: The party envisages an active social policy in all spheres.

Yugoslavia: Yugoslavia should be a socialist, federal community.

International affairs: faster inclusion in integrational currents in Europe and the world.

Ecological Movement of Montenegro (President Branko Boljevic)

Aims: Protection of and improvements in the environment in Montenegro.

Economy: The movement strives for an ecologically healthy economic development.

Social policy: The movement strives for a single ecological strategy of Montenegro and Yugoslavia.

Ecology: Everything in the domain of ecology.

Yugoslavia: The party strives for a federal state and the precisely defined rights in the constitution.

Democratic Alliance of Independent Businessmen of Montenegro (President Radomir Batricevic)

Aims: Modern development and continuous enrichment of modern values of our people and peoples.

Economy: Affirmation of private enterprises and personal work.

Social policy: The party strives for social protection of families and individuals.

Ecology: The party will fight against all types of pollution.

Yugoslavia: The party strives for permanent peace and friendship with all countries in the world.

Democratic Coalition (Party of Democratic Action, Party for Equality, and Democratic Alliance of Montenegro)

Party of Democratic Action: Follows the program of the Party of Democratic Action of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Party For Equality (President Asim Djecevic) [subhead]

Aims: Full equality of minorities in Montenegro, particularly of Muslims and Albanians.

Economy: The party strives for a market economy and free entrepreneurship.

Social policy: The policy should be an important component of the development policy.

Ecology: It strives for environmental protection.

Yugoslavia: It strives for the AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] socialist federal Yugoslavia.

International affairs: Not covered in the program.

Democratic Alliance of Montenegro (President of Mehmet Barli)

Aims: Prosperity and equality of Albanians in Montenegro.

Economy: The party is in favor of different forms of ownership and a modern market.

Social policy: The party strives for a modern social policy and solidarity of developed countries with undeveloped countries.

Yugoslavia: In case the federal or the confederal organization of Yugoslavia are considered, Albanians in Montenegro should have the inalienable right to decide on this issue.

International affairs: The party particularly strives for good relations with neighboring Albania.

[BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 1-2 December on page 11 carries a 50-word unattributed report that states: "Members of the Ecological Movement of Montenegro have decided not to present candidates for the republican parliament in the upcoming elections.

"Considering that the Ecological Movement is not a political organization but a movement that fights for the protection of healthy environment, its leadership takes the view that the members of the Ecological Movement can consistently fight for their aims through the work of a multiparty assembly and organs of state authorities."]

Montenegrin Federalists Call For Election Boycott

AU0612123090 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Dec 90 p 2

["S.V."-signed report: "Brutal Negation"]

[Text] Titograd—The Montenegrin Federalist Movement is once again forced to protest against the increasingly frequent and drastic abuse of the militia by the party in power. As the preelection activities are drawing to an end, the collusion between the League of Communists, the Chetnik People's Party, and the police is becoming more and more obvious. This Bolshevik-Chetnik love affair has carefully been followed by their newspaper POBJEDA and their Montenegro Television, as it has, of course, been by devoted and colonial branches or agencies of Belgrade media and television. These are the views contained in a communique of this movement which also states the following:

"What happened in Virpazar on 2 December [where Markovic was prevented from going to lunch by road blocks] most graphically illustrates the extent of the preelection madness of the League of Communists of Montenegro, the People's Party, and the Bar and republican police. Behaving like bullies and road bandits toward the federal prime minister, Mr. Ante Markovic, regardless of the reasons of his visit to Montenegro, is nothing else but a brutal negation of Yugoslavia, its government, and all its efforts to save the country from disintegrating.

"The only way out of the situation in which Montenegro has found itself, thanks to the January congress of the League of Communists, as seen by the Montenegrin Federalist Movement, is for all democratic, Montenegrin, and Yugoslav oriented parties to boycott the elections. Let the elections scheduled for 9 December be attended only by the League of Communists and the People's Party, which are in many ways the same anyway."

Croatian Assembly Wants Kadijevic To Resign

LD0612143390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1337 GMT 6 Dec 90

[Text] Zagreb, December 6 (TANJUG)—The parliament of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia on Thursday demanded that the federal defense secretary, Gen. Veljko Kadijevic, be relieved of duty.

All three chambers of the Croatian parliament assessed at a joint session on Thursday that Gen. Kadijevic, in an interview for the latest issue of the Zagreb-based weekly "DANAS" negated Yugoslavia's constitutional order, opposed the democratic processes in the country and openly threatened with military force.

It was agreed at the session that the Croatian delegation in the federal parliament raise the question about Gen. Kadijevic's responsibility for his statements. It was also demanded that the Presidency of Yugoslavia, as the country's commander-in-chief, have its say on the general's statements.

In a several-hour discussion, the greater majority of some thirty speakers condemned the warnings of the defense secretary, especially those saying the Army would use force to prevent all those trying with the use of force to topple the country's constitutional order and disarm all armed formations outside the Yugoslav People's Army.

Tudjman: Croatia To Resist Threats With Force

LD0512235190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1849 GMT 5 Dec 90

[Excerpts] Zagreb, 5 Dec (TANJUG)—President of the Republic of Croatia Dr. Franjo Tudjman this evening unveiled a bust of the great man of Croatian history, Stjepan Radic, in the Stjepan Radic students' complex. [passage omitted]

Turning to current events, Dr. Franjo Tudjman stressed that the government of the Republic of Croatia has set realistic goals in its policies, with which it wishes to achieve the freedom and sovereignty of the Croatian nation. This can also be achieved within the framework of a community of Yugoslav republics, or federation of Yugoslav republics, provided that it can be a federation of equals without any majority rule or hegemony. He went on to point out that processes are present in Europe today in which a European community is being created on the bases of genuine democracy, human rights, and recognition of the self-determination and sovereignty of all, including even the smallest European nations, and those which are still called regions in Europe.

Dr. Franjo Tudjman went on to say that the "Serbian hegemonists destroyed the AVNOJ-based [Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] Yugoslavia of Tito, which no longer exists," and that the sovereignty of the Croatian nation can only be realized on the bases of a confederal agreement. These are the bases on which Croatia is entering negotiations with other republics and with the federal organs, Dr. Tudjman stressed.

And if we are threatened with the open use of armed force, and if we are told that illegal groups and armies, that is those which are not legally and constitutionally envisaged as armed forces, will be disarmed, then we will tell them that there are some of those in Croatia. That is the Chetnik division in Knin. There would not be these Chetnik units around Knin if they had not counted on the support of even certain ranks in the army, Dr. Tudjman noted.

Today, when a military party is being revived in Belgrade which is assuring us that the future lies in socialism, and when it is being said that the concept of all-people's defense and social self-protection was foisted upon Tito and others, then this is, in the view of Dr. Tudjman, "an orientation toward a unitaristic Yugoslavia, a unitaristic concept of all-people's defense, which the Croatian nation, like the majority of other non-Serbian nations in Yugoslavia, cannot accept."

In Croatia, Dr. Tudjman went on, there are legal armed forces within the framework of the internal affairs services. They do not number several thousand, but several hundred special constables, and several thousand regular policemen and reserve police forces. If necessary, Croatia will offer resistance with these forces, but it will also resist with the will and strength of the entire nation. Let no one be deceived that there is no doubt about this. We are resolutely for democracy, peace, cooperation, and the search for a peaceful democratic agreement on the possibility of coexistence of the nations of Yugoslavia and the repulbics, but we will not give in to any kind of force.

In this orientation, Dr. Tudjman said, we will have the support of the entire Croatian nation regardless of party differences, and of the entire democratic world, Europe and America.

Croatia's Tudjman Says Confederation Only Option

LD0512145190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1034 GMT 5 Dec 90

[Report on interview with Croatian President Franjo Tudjman by unidentified IAN press agency reporter; place and date not given]

[Text] Moscow, 5 Dec (TANJUG)—Croatian President Franjo Tudjman said that future coexistence in Yugoslavia is possible only in a confederation or a union of sovereign states.

"At issue here are not just historical differences among national entities. Our people belong to different cultural spheres. It is therefore necessary to draw up a new historical agreement on Yugoslavia's future state system," Tudjman said in an interview with the Belgrade correspondent of the Soviet press agency IAN, published in Moscow today.

Asked about the fate of a Croatian-Slovene project of Yugoslavia's confederal system, Tudjman said that at the moment, the project could expect hard times. "This project has succeeded in rallying quite a significant number of people who support the confederal concept, but it will probably be met with hostility by those who champion the federal option." "The best way out is to negotiate common solutions to all major problems."

About problems in the regions of Croatia populated by Serbs, President Tudjman said that these would only be resolved in a democratic way. We recognize Serbs' civil and ethnic rights, but there can be no talk about their territorial autonomy.

Having pointed out that the process of restoring bourgeois democracy is not proceeding peacefully, Franjo Tudjman stressed that two of Yugoslavia's republics—Croatia and Slovenia—are no longer socialist and that Yugoslavia is a country with two different social systems. He also said that Croatia itself had attributes of both systems.

Asked how it was possible that he, who in the past took an active part in the development of socialism in Yugoslavia, is today working ardently on its destruction, Tudjman replied that in his youth he believed in the possibility of creating "paradise on earth," and that he joined the movement believing that "Croatia's freedom and sovereignty could be attained in a revolutionary way." "Experience has shown how utopian my views were," he said. "My paradise soon turned into hell."

Croatian Prime Minister Addresses Legislators

LD0612204790 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1954 GMT 6 Dec 90

[Text] Zagreb, 6 Dec (TANJUG)—Premier of Yugoslavia's Republic of Croatia Josip Manolic said today "the Croatian leadership, government and parliament have not taken a single step to justify the boorish behaviour of one section of the Serbian Democratic Party and its highwaymen".

Addressing a joint session of the republican parliament's three chambers, which opened today, Manolic took exception at a statement made by Federal Prime Minister Ante Markovic to the effect that the focuses of crisis in some parts of Croatia had been created by rash and too radical moves by the new government in Zagreb.

Both statements relate to a revolt of Serbs in some parts of Croatia where they constitute the majority population. The Serbs have been protesting against the fact that, under Croatia's new constitution, they are not recognized as a nation and have been stripped of some rights they had before the Croatian Democratic Union won the first post-war multi-party elections in the republic last spring.

Supporting in principle the federal government's reform programme, Manolic said the only positive result of the reform so far had been the harnessing of hyperinflation. Recession is deepening, industrial production and demand for finished goods are falling sharply and the country's balance-of-payments deficit and unemployment are on the rise, he added.

For that reason, the reform programme should be urgently adjusted to the current needs, which implies a revision of the dinar's exchange rate, the credit and monetary policy, public spending and the source of its financing, Manolic specified.

For almost a year, the Yugoslav national currency, the dinar, has been pegged to the German mark at a ratio of seven to one.

Describing the organization of Yugoslav diplomatic mission network as obsolete, Manolic announced the opening of Croatian missions abroad

Croat Warning Strike: 75,000 Workers Participate

LD0612175390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1748 GMT 5 Dec 90

[Text] Zagreb, 6 Dec (TANJUG)—According to information reaching the independent trade union of workers in the textile, leather, rubber, and footwear industry in Croatia, between 70,000 and 75,000 workers employed in some 50 companies in these areas took part in today's warning strike. The workers stopped work for a short time to lend their support at meetings to the demands for a solution to their social and economic position.

The independent trade union sees this response as successful and says that in a few days the strike committee will analyze the warning strike which has taken place. Ten days later a session of the republican committee of this union will take place and will call on the competent ministries to react to the demands put forward. If there is no response then, a general strike will be organized. If it does not get the written support of 90 percent of the companies in these areas for this, the trade union leadership will resign.

Croatia Abolishes Self-Management Judiciary

LD0712134390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1022 GMT 7 Dec 90

[Text] Zagreb, 7 Dec (TANJUG)—The courts of associated labor and social attorney of self-management no longer exist in Croatia.

The Croatian Assembly today adopted, without any discussion, two laws governing the cessation of the work of the Court of Associated Labor and abolishing the institution of the social attorney of self-management from 31 December 1990.

According to these laws, all court cases which are before the courts of associated labor will be handed over to the regular courts which will resolve them by the regular procedure.

Kucan, Tudjman Exchange Views on Cooperation

AU0612094690 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 23 Nov 90 p 3

[Croatian News Agency, HINA, report: "In Conformity With Changes in Europe"]

[Text] Novo Mesto—Representatives of Croatian and Slovene leaderships—Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia; Zarko Domljan, president of the Croatian Assembly; Josip Manolic, president of the Croatian Government; Milan Kucan, president of the Republic of Slovenia; France Bucar, president of the Slovene Assembly; and Lojze Peterle, president of the Slovene Government—met in Trska Gora, near Novo Mesto, yesterday morning. After holding talks on some essential issues, presidents Kucan and Tudjman spoke to journalists.

Joint Interests

President Kucan said that the talks were a planned continuation of the negotiations that had been held in the past with a view to coordinating current political activities and joint interests under the conditions of a continued political crisis in Yugoslavia and to consolidating the two republics' sovereignty and independence as a way to join the processes of integration on the Yugoslav and international level. During the talks, which touched in particular on the Slovene plebiscite and a new Croatian constitution, one pointed to the necessity to solve the present crisis in a democratic way. President Kucan pointed out that the plebiscite in Slovenia and the new Constitution in Croatia have the same aim, only the roads leading to them are different.

"We have agreed," Kucan pointed out, "that it would be good to formulate standpoints which would tell our citizens, as well as the international public, what our intentions are. It was clearly said that we do not want to realize our historic orientations and interests or solve our essential problems at the expense of the development of other Yugoslav peoples and even less to endanger the interests of other European states. It would also be bad to impede or oppose democratic processes in the other republics. On the contrary, we are of the opinion that it would be better if these processes intensified. It was therefore agreed that the Croatian and Slovene presidencies should send the Federal Presidency a demand to the effect that further politization of the Yugoslav People's Army, which has particularly intensified when it founded its own party, should be prevented.

Regular Exchange of Views

In his statement, President Tudjman said the following:

"As Kucan has said, today's meeting of the leaderships of the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Slovenia is a continuation of our regular exchanges of views about essential issues. The talks we had today, of course, focused on our internal situation regarding elections in other republics and regarding in particular the preparations for the constitution of the Republic of Croatia and the preparations for the plebiscite in Slovenia. In our opinion, both acts—the adoption of the constitution of the Republic of Croatia and the plebiscite in Slovenia will represent a step forward in reaching conditions for a final historic agreement on regulating new relations among the republics in present-day Yugoslavia. We are also convinced that elections in other republics will create further conditions for solving the Yugoslav state crisis more quickly.

"Of course, we also talked about the development of Croatia and Slovenia, and the whole of Yugoslavia, in connection with the historic Paris conference on the new European order. In our opinion, the conclusions made at that conference have created a basis for us in Croatia to continue and firm the democratic setup that we established after the elections and that these conclusions also oblige all other republics to respect all those human rights and international norms that the sovereign European setup demands.

"We dealt in particular with problems such as the founding, or to put it better, the restoration of the communist party, which relies on the Yugoslav Army. In our opinion, this phenomenon can be deemed worrying, because it is at variance with the agreement that a democratic transformation must be achieved by a democratic road. The return of the Army into political life by renewing a party that used to be the center of a one-party setup gives no hope that that Army could be of any help to democratic transformation. On the contrary, some statements given in connection with that renewal of the Communist Party indicate that there are some people who hope that the wheel of history can even be turned back. That could be very dangerous, although not so for the democratic development itself, because we are convinced that democratic moves cannot be stopped, but it could be slowed down."

How Is One To Cooperate With the Federal Executive Council

"We also talked about the attitude of Markovic's government toward current questions, as well as about our attitude toward Markovic's government, because the Croatian economy and, as you have heard, the Slovene economy as well, are finding themselves in an almost catastrophic situation because of the unrealistic dinar exchange rate and because of some steps that Markovic's government plans to take, and as much as we are in favor of Markovic's program because it accepts pluralist democracy and free market, we in Croatia, just as our friends in Slovenia, also resolutely oppose every centralization regarding budget or taxation. We have taken a joint obligation upon ourselves that our governments should thoroughly study these problems and that we should seriously talk about how one can continue cooperation with the federal government.

"All in all, I think that the talks we had today were very fruitful and that they will facilitate our joint strivings toward democracy and toward the establishment of relations we advocate for Croatia, Slovenia, as well as the whole of Yugoslavia. We have also had the pleasure to learn that our policy is in conformity with the historic changes taking place in Europe."

Talks between the Croatian and Slovene prime ministers, Manolic and Peterle, and their aides were continued in Trska Gora in the afternoon. According to what the Croatian News Agency HINA could learn, they were talking about the cost of such an expensive federation.

Slovenes Criticize Political Army 'Interference'

LD0612205790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1415 GMT 6 Dec 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 6 Dec (TANJUG)—The Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia sent from its session yesterday a letter to the SFRY Presidency about the depoliticization of the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA]. A copy of the letter has been sent today to the TANJUG office for Slovenia.

The letter stresses that "the Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia discussed at its sessions on 26 November and 5 December the appearance of politicization of the JNA. The Presidency is convinced that political functions of the Army are incompatible with the process of democratization in Yugoslavia and also with the international obligations which the SFRY took upon itself, including the recently adopted Paris Charter. The politicization of the Army is diverting from its basic tasks of protecting the SFRY from an external attack, avoidance of meddling in political life, and thus making its contribution to the peaceful transition to the political multiparty system, economic freedom and social welfare on the basis of the freedoms of man and the right of each nation to self-determination.

"The setting up of a new political party—the League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia—with the active support of the organization of the League of Communists in the JNA and with the federal secretary for national defense and other active top military leaders in attendance is completely opposite to such a direction, the Presidency holds. Hence the Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia calls on the SFRY Presidency to finally make sure that the JNA does not encroach upon the political life of the country, that no political organization operates in the JNA, and that Army officers do not participate in the leaderships of political organizations. A consistent depoliticization of the Army will facilitate an undisturbed process of democratization in which democratically elected bodies in all republics will be constituted.

"The impermissibility of the JNA's interference, i.e. its leadership, in internal political processes in the country, and the dangers which because of its attitude threaten peace, security, and democratization in Yugoslavia are all confirmed by statements of Army General Veljko Kadijevic in his interview to 'DANAS'.

"The Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia assesses the interview as being a deliberate and intentional interference of the federal secretary for national defense in the democratization processes in Yugoslavia. His evaluation of the political situation and statements about future JNA measures are not based on the decisions and stands of the SFRY Presidency, at least not on those publicly announced, i.e. those with which the Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia was familiar.

"According to the SFRY Constitution, it is only the SFRY Presidency which commands the JNA. The federal secretary with his statements certainly overstepped his constitutional and legal powers. The Slovene Presidency refutes an evaluation made by the federal secretary in his interview that the Territorial Defense Force is 'an objective fraud' [objektivna prevara] which was from the very beginning developed as a basis for republican armies. The Territorial Defense Force—and in the Republic of Slovenia, also the People's Defense Force—are a part of the SFRY defense system as set out in the current federal constitution and federal laws.

"The Slovene Presidency will consider each forceful interference of the JNA in issues set out by the Slovene Constitution or the regulations adopted on that basis as a direct threat to the Republic of Slovenia and its sovereignty. Such a stand of the Slovene Presidency is completely in accordance with the current federal legal system, because discussion on the constitutionality of the SFRY decision of 2 October 1990 has not yet started. By this decision, which was made by the SFRY Presidency as a proposal from the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, the Republic of Slovenia was unconstitutionally stripped off its right to command the Slovene territorial defense.

"For these reasons, the Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia is calling on the SFRY Presidency to start an examination of the JNA depoliticization as soon as possible, because this would be in the interest of a peaceful and democratic resolution of the Yugoslav constitutional crisis. In the course of the examination, the Presidency will not be able to avoid an examination of the responsibility of the Federal Secretary for National Defense Veljko Kadijevic's for statements which are out of his jurisdiction. For these reasons, the Slovene Presidency is also calling on the SFRY Presidency to deprive the federal secretary for national defense of special powers which it transferred to him in 1983," says the letter from the Slovene Presidency to the SFRY Presidency.

'Unusual' Army Activity in Slovenia Denied

LD0612183290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1743 GMT 6 Dec 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 6 Dec (TANJUG)—A statement has been issued from the office of SFRY Presidency member Dr. Janez Drnovsek saying that he has interceded with SFRY Presidency President Dr. Borisav Jovic in connection with the reports of unusual activity of the Yugoslav People's Army in Slovenia.

President Borisav Jovic, the statement says, after seeking confirmation from the competent institutions, stated that such reports are incorrect and that no special activity of the army is being carried out or is planned in Slovenia.

Dr. Janez Drnovsek received the same assurance in talks with Federal Secretary for National Defense General Veljko Kadijevic.

Slovene Independence Plebiscite Set For 23 Dec

LD0612151990 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 6 Dec 90

[Text] The plebiscite on Slovene independence will be held on Sunday 23 December. The decision will be made by a simple majority—i.e., only if more than half of all Slovenes with the right to vote are in favor of one or the other option. This was agreed at today's meeting of the Slovene Executive Council Presidium.

Slovene Presidency President Views Plebiscite

LD0612223490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1624 GMT 6 Dec 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 6 Dec (TANJUG)—With the proposed plebiscite for the protection of Slovene sovereignty, the independence process is entering a decisive period, Milan Kucan, president of the Slovene Presidency, stresed at today's joint session of all three chambers of the Slovene Assembly. In a speech on the proposed law on plebiscite, Kucan underscored that there are several reasons for a plebiscite to be carried out before a new constitution is adopted.

For one, the pace of erecting a new political and economic order in Slovenia and Yugoslavia is too slow. Due to several mistakes, the Federal Executive Council [FEC] has not been able to implement the basically well-conceived program of reforms. The Yugoslav economy is approaching chaos with accelerated speed. This could have unforseeable economic, social, and political consequences.

Furthermore, human and collective, and in particular national rights in Kosovo are being violated; national passions and conflicts are flaring up in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Moreover, new representative ruling bodies have not been elected in all republics in democratic, multiparty elections.

The fact that the Slovene economic base is being undermined and increasingly more obvious danger from international isolation, are not allowing Slovenia to postpone its moves toward the process of state independence, Kucan emphasized, and went on to add that for Slovenia to get international recognition, it must have de facto power over its territory.

To this end, the Slovene Assembly and Executive Council should adopt several concrete documents and measures, and must have clear and undisputable powers which could be bestowed upon them most convincingly by a decision in favor of an independent Slovene state, a decision which is reached through direct voting of the people.

The plebiscite is also necessary because, Kucan underlined, decisions made on the path to the independent were not always made in the most democratic mode of voting.

We do not want to affirm our right to self-determination at the expense of equal rights of other Yugoslav nations or in a way which would jeopardize the security and peace of other states in Europe, Kucan stressed. By affirming our right, we do not want in the least to endanger democratic processes elsewhere in Yugoslavia, or to abandon our responsibility for democratization of the current Yugoslav state and society, for the development of political pluralism, affirmation of parliamentary democracy, respect for human and civil rights, and for affirmation of the free market.

The creation of the Slovene national state, which is an historic necessity, is not our ultimate goal, Kucan said and went on to add that "we see it as a means and a way of Slovenia forging new integrations and links, either within the framework of Yugoslavia, or wider within European framework."

Furthermore, although within a context unacceptable to us, even the SFRY Presidency endorsed referendum as a form of decisionmaking about the future status of republics.

Talking about the election campaign in the last two republics which did not have multiparty elections and about intensive debates about plebiscite, Milan Kucan noted that it is obvious that some Yugoslav Peoples Army [JNA] circles "dislike" a democratic denouement of the crisis and preparations for a new treaty between the Yugoslav nations, that is, their republics, about the future life together.

The implementation of a consistent program of depolitization of the Army would pave the way for a smooth realization of the process of democratization, including the formation of democratically elected representative bodies in all republics, which would be the only legitimate bodies to negotiate the future of the relations between the republics.

Inadmissable interference in the political life by top brass assumed new proportions with the recent interview given by the federal secretary for national defense, Kucan said.

This was, according to Kucan, a far-reaching overstepping of powers and a sign of the obvious ambition of the Army to assess and decide on political issues, including the social model and organization of the state.

Noting that the republican Territorial Defense Force headquarters, the secretariat for national defense, and the secretariat for internal affairs have at their disposal information which permits the conclusion that the JNA has not desisted from its ambitions to interfere in the determination of the political situation in Slovenia, including the use of its units, Kucan stressed that such intentions, in the view of the Slovene Presidency, are not justified by the actual circumstances, and that there are no legal bases for them either. Thus any interference of the JNA in political events is illegal and uncalled for, and moreover contrary to the Slovene Constitution, which does not permit any measures of this nature without the agreement of the Slovene Assembly, Kucan stressed. Such actions, he said, pose a threat to the process of self-determination in Slovenia and the processes of democratization in Slovenia and elsewhere in the state. According to Kucan, the Presidency of the Republic has called on the SFRY Presidency to put an immediate stop to any JNA activity of this kind and to thereby ensure conditions from a democratic solution of the crisis. We have guarantees that this will be so, Kucan said, adding that measures have been adopted which will ensure the unhindered activity of the Slovene Territorial Defense Force, its commands and units.

The continuation of such activities by the JNA, in the view of the Slovene Presidency, could jeopardize the normal, legitimate, and legal implementation of the plebiscite. We would then be faced with the fact, Kucan said, that the federal state had used an armed force, which is also ours, against the legitimate and legal government in our republic and against its legitimate acts.

Therefore, the Slovene Presidency proposes that if it is impossible to carry out a plebiscite under normal circumstances, the Presidency itself, within its competencies and on the basis of the current Slovene Constitution, should make the necessary decisions regarding the foundation of an independent Slovene state.

The Slovene Republic will regard a possible use of force as an act of open aggression and will act in accordance with this both within the country and abroad, Milan Kucan said. The use of force would objectively change the character of the plebiscite and turn it into a plebiscite on secession, he warned. In that case, the Slovene Assembly should be prepared to make all the necessary decisions.

In the second half of his address, Kucan spoke about preparations for the Slovene plebiscite. The Slovene Executive Council has prepared analytical reports about the economic and social situation, about the reasons for a referendum, its consequences, and about the main avenues of action open to it. Once a referendum outcome has been endorsed. All parliamentary parties and groups have defined their stance toward the referendum in a published political agreement, in which they succeeded in overcoming narrow party interests and narrow political frameworks of activity, Kucan affirmed. The republican Executive Council assesses that all necessary legal and organisational preparations for a successful realisation of a plebiscite can be finalized by 23 December. The Presidency has endorsed the proposal of the republican Executive Council.

The plebiscite must not be taken as a political decision of one group of the population against another on the basis of political or party affiliation. The plebiscite should only be seen as a political act through which the majority of the Slovene people express their will. Any doubt in the reality of such outcome represents doubt in the very need for a plebiscite, which constitutes lack of trust in one's own compatriots, Kucan said. [sentence as received] Only the support of the majority of citizens can confer legitimacy on the plebiscite. The plebiscite will be successful, Kucan said, only if an overwhelming majority of all Slovenes with the right to vote is in favor of independence. This solution was proposed by both the Presidency and the republican Executive Council.

If it is shown that agreement between the nations of Yugoslavia in their present republics; is not possible, Slovenia will realize its legitimate interests in the international community as an independent state, while at the same time still being prepared to cooperate with others of the present Yugoslav republics, Milan Kucan said, in whatever form they are organized following the sovereign decisions of their peoples.

Kucan reiterated that the plebiscite is necessary and justified, but, as he said, it is not a case of deciding on secession. The question which is to be decided is that of the statehood and independence of Slovenia which enshrines the right to negotiate on future alliances.

Slovenia wants in particular to further develop its good cooperation with the neighboring Republic of Croatia, as is confirmed by the model of a possible confederal order among the Yugoslav nations drawn up jointly by the presidencies of Slovenia and Croatia. We are suggesting to the Assembly, Kucan said, that this model should be put to all nations of Yugoslavia as a proposal for consideration as a possibility for the regulation of mutual relations.

Concluding his speech, Milan Kucan said that as an independent state, the Republic of Slovenia will seek UN membership and full membership on the Council of Europe.

SDP's Ribicic Comments on Slovene Plebiscite

LD0512155390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1326 GMT 5 Dec 90

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 5 Dec (TANJUG)—The initiative for the upcoming plebiscite on Slovenia's autonomy and independence was given, without any consultation with the opposition, by the ruling Demos [United Opposition], but precisely because of the opposition, this plebiscite is becoming a non-party and national issue. For the Party of Democratic Reform (SDP-former communists) the plebiscite signals the beginning of the process of Slovenia's independence and of more intensive negotiations with others in Yugoslavia about a confederal agreement.

This is how during his news conference in the International Press Center SDP President Ciril Ribicic explained his party's stand on the Slovene plebiscite. According to him, neither DEMOS nor anyone else can use the plebiscite as a blank check to proclaim a unilateral and immediate secession. After the plebiscite there comes a six-month period during which attempts will be made to come to an agreement on the confederal transformation of Yugoslavia. A confederal status of Slovenia in Yugoslavia is our first objective, recession is only a reserve variant which can follow if federation proves an impossibility, stressed Ribicic. [passage omitted]

Slovene Parties Protest Plebiscite Decision

LD0612095590 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0051 GMT 6 Dec 90

[Text] Ljubljana, December 5 (TANJUG)—Three opposition parties in the republic of Slovenia, northwestern Yugoslavia, made known here today their disagreement with the decision of their republic's Constitutional Commission that, for the legitimacy of plebiscite, enough is that a relative majority of those turning out to cast their votes do so.

The Party for Democratic Changes, the Socialist Party and the yesterday founded Social Democratic Union also said that necessary is to have a plebiscite on Slovenia's substantiveness and independence. In order to have lawful results of the said plebiscite, a majority of all voters should necessarily come out in their favour, in the opinion of all the three parties.

Deputies to Slovenia's republican parliament should Thursday make their opinions known on the plebiscite law and make up their minds about that key-disagreement between the opposition and the constitutional commission.

Commenting on Slovenia's constitutional commission decision that, practically, to make a success of such a plebiscite enough is one- third of votes cast by the citizens of legal age, the VECER newspaper coming out in the town of Maribor, Slovenia, today wondered whether the authorities indeed evaluate their own people, its maturity and responsibility as so poor.

The Slovenian authorities are due to bear responsibility should everything not come out all right with the plebiscite, the VECER wrote in conclusion.

Slovene Presidency Statement on Independence Issue

LD0612202890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1707 GMT 6 Dec 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 6 Dec (TANJUG)—The Slovene Presidency today proposed to the republican Assembly, that in connection with the decision to hold a plebiscite on the independence and autonomy of the Republic of Slovenia, it should also adopt a "statement of good intentions."

"In connection with holding a plebiscite, the Slovene Assembly wishes to express its good intentions, and with the expression of its will be plebiscite, Slovenia should definitely and truly become a sovereign, democratic legal and social state"...

Enumerating in the "statement" the bases on which the future Slovene state will be founded, it said that "the Slovene state within the framework of an independent Republic of Slovenia also guarantees to the Italian and Hungarian minorities all the rights determined by the Constitution, laws, and international acts which it has concluded and which the SFRY recognizes. Likewise we guarantee to all members of other nations and nationalities the right to complete cultural and linguistic development, and to all those whose permanent residence is in Slovenia the right to acquire Slovene citizenship if they choose".

It also stated that "the establishment of an independent Slovene state on the basis of the right to self-determination is not aimed against anyone in Yugoslavia, or outside it. Slovenia recognizes the same right of other nations in Yugoslavia. The desire for independence expressed by plebiscite should afford Slovenia the possibility of offering all nations of Yugoslavia democratic bases for setting out mutual relations in a possible Yugoslav confederal or economic community or some other appropriate association. The Republic of Slovenia is thereby taking upon itself its own share of the responsibility for democratization throughout the territory of present-day Yugoslavia, before the international public. The Republic of Slovenia will propose to all republics the adoption of an agreement on legal inheritance, that is the division of the rights and commitments of the SFRY."

The "statement" says that Slovenia will endeavor as soon as possible to become a member of the UN and other international organizations.

"Slovenia will also advocate the nonviolent solution of world conflicts. It will join the European system of collective security and the cooperation and disarmament processes with the appropriate international guarantees. As an independent state, it wishes to offer its contribution to the creation of a new Europe and thus to directly involve itself in the implementation of the Paris document", the "statement of good intentions" which the Slovene Presidency is proposing to the republican Assembly also says.

Slovene Poll: 69.5 Percent Support Independence

AU0612163590

[Editorial Report] Ljubljana NEODVISNI DNEVNIK in Slovene on 1 December, pages 1 and 6, carries a 900-word unattributed report entitled "Unfounded Fear" on results of an opinion poll conducted in Slovenia by Varianta on the plebiscite on Slovenia's independence.

According to the report, the poll was conducted on the telephone from 22 to 25 November among a sample of 567 telephone subscribers. More than two-thirds of the respondents replied to questions asked (383 people, that is, 67.5 percent), 18.3 percent (that is, 104 people) refused to cooperate, and 80 people (14.1 percent) could not be reached. The following results of the poll are presented in one pie chart and two bar charts:

Table 1: "How will you vote in the plebiscite?"

(a pie chart with figures in percentages)

For	69.5
Against	7.0
Still do not know	21.4
Will not participate	2.1

Table 2: "Would you vote 'for' if independence would mean a fall in or a deterioration of...."

(a bar chart with figures in percentages)

personal standard	89.5
personal security	62.8
economic position of the Republic of Slovenia	81.2
security position of the Republic of Slovenia	59

Table 3: "In your opinion, who may oppose the plebiscite on Slovenia's independence?"

(a bar chart with figures in percentages)

Federal Government	74.9
SFRY Presidency	73.4
Top Military Leadership (Yugoslav People's Army)	83.8
Neighboring countries	27.9
World powers	33.4
Other republics	79.9

Poll Shows Support for Independent Slovene State

LD0712103690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0939 GMT 7 Dec 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 7 Dec (TANJUG)—The Slovene public almost unanimously supports the idea of an independent Slovene state. The number of those who will vote in favor of independence in the plebiscite is increasing almost every day. According to an opinion poll conducted by Stik agency, whose polls DELO of Ljubljana publishes regularly, more than four-fifths of those polled intends to take part in the plebiscite. Almost the same number will vote for independence. In an opinion poll conducted on 5 December, with 323 people questioned over the phone, only 4.5 percent of those polled were against Slovene independence.

Slovene Editors Reject Call For Biased Reporting

LD0712143290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1331 GMT 7 Dec 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 7 Dec (TANJUG)—Editors of Slovene dailies have rejected the attempt on the part of the authorities to have them write biasedly on the forthcoming plebiscite on independence of this Yugoslav republic.

Editor-in-chief of the Ljubljana daily "DELO" Tit Dobersek set out that his editorial staff would "persist in its independent editorial policy" and that "he would not permit the staff to be harnessed into any kind of political manipulation, no matter how lofty the goal."

Dobersek's angry comment on Thursday [6 December] came after a letter circulated editorial staffs of three Slovene dailies on behalf of the commission for the implementation of the December 23 plebiscite. The commission is headed by republican Information Minister Stane Stanic.

The letter was sent by commission member Boris Jez, a journalist of "DELO". The content of the letter was last Wednesday published by the Ljubljana-based "NEZAVISNI DNEVNIK," also a recipient of the letter's copy.

Calling on all editorial staffs to write "affirmatively and resolutely" about the plebiscite, the letter text notes that "the readership, of course, must not get the impression that an organized campaign was behind such writing."

Suggesting that they would be well-advised to carry out several "organized newspaper polemics" with "friends in Belgrade" and that "every chauvinist incident against the Slovenes should be disseminated on a large-scale" the proposal's author acknowledges that these were "dirty tricks," but justifies them by saying that "in our case they are adequately beneficial."

"Elaborate political and economic commentaries should be used to demonstrate the lack of prospects of the Yugoslav option," the letter states and warns that one must be very selective as regards the publishing of statements of the foreign politicians disinclined to view Slovenia's independence with sympathy.

On the other hand, much greater coverage should be given to those who are inclined towards Slovenia's secession, the letter sets out and proposes that special reporters be sent to "certain friends, say, in Lombardy, the Baltics, Bavaria, and Catalonia."

Editor of the Maribor newspaper "VECER" Milan Predan, whose staff was also asked to "think in terms of the plebiscite," described such attempts as reflecting "Machiavellism." He assessed that "fear of the plebiscite results was completely superfluous because a great majority of Slovenes supported Slovenia's becoming independent."

Communists, Reformists To Cooperate in Elections

LD0512133990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1037 GMT 5 Dec 90

[Text] Skopje, 5 Dec (TANJUG)—During their joint meeting today, the League of Communists of Macedonia-Party for Democratic Transformation (SKM-PDP), and the Alliance of Reformist Forces of Macdeonia (SRSM) reached agreement on electoral cooperaiton during the last round of elections due to be held in Macedonia on Sunday, 9 December.

Electoral co-operation between the two parties is the result of joint assessment of election result so far, and of the need to further strengthen the position of progressive forces in the new Macedonian parliament. In accordance with the agreement, support will be given to candidates in about 15 electoral constitutencies out of a total of 21, of whom 11 are SKM-PDP deputies and four are SRSM deputies.